HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXIX, No. 32 Copyright 1969 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. August 9, 1969 35¢

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Major Changes in War on Poverty Predicted

But Administration and Rumsfeld still ask two-year extension of present bill

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

It is possible that Congress may continue the scandal-scarred, multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty program for another year—but definitely not in the form being urged by the Administration.

There isn't a chance that it will be approved by the House Education and Labor Committee—which has been considering the widely controversial legislation for months.

A strong bloc of Republican and Democratic committeemen is flatly against the Administration's proposal to extend the anti-poverty program for two more years—with no changes of any kind in the first year, while a study is being made to decide what should be done the next year.

The bipartisan opponents are insisting that if the program is renewed, it be limited to one year with major changes.

The inner committee outlook is that this is what will be voted.

Significantly indicative of that is the attitude of two influential members of the committee—Rep. Edith Green (Ore.), second ranking Democrat, and William Scherle (Iowa), leading Republican.

Both not only vigorously favor drastic revision of the Economic Opportunity Act, but are forcefully saying so.

In a blistering excoriation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the anti-poverty program, Scherle declared, "There is urgent need for constructive changes in the multi-billion-dollar-a-year boondoggle called OEO. I will do my utmost to fight, both in the committee and on the floor of the House, an extension beyond one year and without sweeping changes."

Mrs. Green, after listening to OEO Director Donald Rumsfeld sonorously advocate a two-year renewal with no modifications, exclaimed unbelievingly, "You've got to be kidding. You can't mean that seriously. Why, you'll be lucky if you get one year with a complete overhaul."

Liberal Democrat Edith Green (Ore.) and conservative Republican William Scherle (Iowa) are expected to join forces to drastically overhaul former President Johnson's legacy of the wasteful "War on Poverty."

At the root of the committee's pronounced bipartisan aversion to OEO is a five-year accumulation of innumerable scandals, waste, gross mismanagement, excessive costs, interminable bungling and very meager results for the billions expended so far.

Citing this long and dismal record, Rep. Scherle characterized OEO as a "catastrophic flop unequaled by any other government agency in many years."

"Since its inception in 1964," the outspoken Iowan said, "the Office of Economic Opportunity has spent more than $7.5 billion, with very little of this immense sum reaching the poor, but plenty of it lining the pockets of the self-appointed do-gooders running the program. It would be the height of folly for Congress to vote another $2 billion for OEO without a full reorganization."

The Administration's proposal for another study to pinpoint OEO shortcomings was caustically derided by Scherle as futile and repetitious.

"There have been studies galore," he pointed out. "OEO itself has spent some $30 million on surveys and analysis of every conceivable kind—wholly to no avail. The General Accounting Office, on express congressional orders, made an exhaustive study at a cost of more than $1 million. Its 188-page report contained numerous constructive recommendations. I know of nothing that has been done about a single one of them.

"To spend more money and time on more of this sort of thing would be ridiculous. What is urgently needed is a top-to-bottom housecleaning forthwith and basic changes in concept and administration."

Two underlying changes advocated by Scherle are:

- "Less emphasis on OEO as a social revolutionary agency and more concentration on providing income-producing jobs."
- "A more meaningful role for the states in planning and coordinating poverty programs within the states. An overwhelming majority of the governors favor that."

It is Scherle's contention that making the states the central agencies responsible for poverty programs would "noticeably upgrade them."

"The bloc-grant approach," he held, "would result in more economical use of government funds and also reduce the vicious infighting which is now so prevalent among competing funding groups. There is widespread duplication of government-supported anti-poverty programs. Many are overlapping or jointly funded with the Department of Labor, HEW, HUD and OEO.

"Every unnecessary layer of bureaucratic fat increases the cost to taxpayers and reduces the effectiveness and productiveness of the program."

Donald Rumsfeld, who gave up a safe House seat recently to become head of OEO, has started off by launching what is described as a "complete review of the 'War on Poverty.'"

This latest in a long and expensive list of studies would be made, it was announced, by a "Director's Task Force. . . staffed entirely by experts from outside OEO."

But a check of these authorities discloses that while they may be outside now, not long ago they were very much inside. A number of them are former OEO officials, as follows:

Head of the Task Force is Morris Liebman, Chicago attorney who has been chairman of the National Advisory Council on the Economic Opportunity Act the past several years. He was named to that job by former President Lyndon Johnson.

Another top official of the Task Force is James Gibson, former director of the Neighborhood Development Program, an agency of the Washington, D.C., Community Action program financed by OEO. Still another is Robert Levine, until recently assistant OEO director for research, plans and evaluation. Others are David Gottlieb, former associate director of OEO's hotly embattled Job Corps, and Father Geno Baroni, leading militant Catholic priest and anti-poverty crusader.

Bipartisan congressional leaders, long sharply critical of OEO, are eyeing this Task Force of so-called "outsiders" with deep suspicions and misgivings. OEO Director Rumsfeld's selection of this group is not improving his agency's prospects in the House Education and Labor Committee.

Rep. Paul Rogers (D.-Fla.) is demanding that Rumsfeld "immediately suspend all contracts giving OEO the right to select members of supposedly independent evaluation teams." Rogers indignantly charges such "self-serving studies are used to deceive Congress and the American people."

Rep. Larry Winn (R.-Kans.), in a questionnaire poll of his district, reported the following results on abolishing OEO—44 per cent in favor; 14 per cent for retaining the agency as it exists; 42 per cent to transfer its programs to other government agencies.

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The real cost to taxpayers for cleaning up and restoring the area occupied last summer by the riotous "Resurrection City" encampment was more than $320,000—and not the $71,795 the government has been vainly trying to collect from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

This heretofore unknown information was disclosed by Rep. Kenneth Gray (D.-Ill.), head of a Public Works subcommittee, in response to questions by Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa).

Gross has been pressuring the Justice Department to take legal action against SCLC to collect the unpaid debt. When granted a permit for the so-called "poor people's camp," SCLC promised to pay the cost of repairing all damages. The Interior Department, after vainly trying to collect, finally turned the matter over to the Justice Department last October.

In the nine months since then, it has done nothing.

"The official figure given our committee by the head of the National Parks Service was $220,119 for restoring the site," explained Gray. "That does not include the cost of resodding the area, which I understand was in excess of $100,000. And that isn't all by any means.

"When you consider the costs for police and other services, I would say that the over-all cost to taxpayers for this encampment was in excess of $1 million."

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Capital Briefs

● Kevin Phillips, the Justice Department official who helped plot Richard Nixon's '68 presidential victory, has angered Republican liberals with his sensational bombshell, **The Emerging Republican Majority.** (Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y.). Already in great public demand in the Washington book stores, Phillips' major work refutes the contention that the GOP must turn to the left to overwhelm the Democrats in presidential elections. With copious documentation, Phillips points out with convincing clarity that the GOP can become the majority party only by searching for votes in such conservative areas as the Heartland, the South (including Wallace country), the Sun Belt and such fast-growing areas as Houston, Tex., and Orange County, Calif. (Next week Human Events will present an exclusive interview with Mr. Phillips).

● Not only are GOP liberals upset with the thought that the White House intends to follow Phillips's strategy for 1972, but they are particularly incensed by this statement in his book: "One of the greatest **political myths of the decade**—a product of liberal self-interest—is that the Republican party cannot attain national dominance without mobilizing liberal support in the big cities, appealing to 'liberal' youth, empathizing with 'liberal' urbanization, gaining substantial Negro support and courting the affluent young professional classes of suburbia."

● Forme Democratic Sen. **Wayne Morse** of Oregon is considering running for Congress in 1970 against Republican Rep. John Dellenback.

● **Theodore C. Sorensen,** JFK's former speech writer and aide, was reported to have done the major drafting of Teddy's TV speech on the Chappaquiddick incident.

● Defense Secretary **Robert S. McNamara** was reported to have been greeted with heavy sarcasm when he rushed to the Hyannis Port compound to lend moral support to Teddy. "Well, Bob," a Kennedy adviser said, "You handled the Bay of Pigs and Viet Nam. Now let's see what you can do with this one."

● In a dramatic realignment of New York politics, Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** has quietly turned over the state GOP organization to the forces of Republican-Conservative mayoralty nominee John Marchi. The ultra-liberal Lindsay faction in the party, which has been at odds with the governor for some time, is outraged by his action and is reported planning to oppose him should he decide to run for a fourth term in 1970. On the other hand, the state's powerful Conservative party, which has subsisted on a dream of purging Rockefeller since its inception in 1962, is tempering its prior hostility with a realistic analysis of the changing political scene.

● Ubaldo Ranzi, a tool manufacturer in Milan, Italy, celebrated the **Apollo 11 moon landing** by hoisting an American flag over his factory. Four workers, members of the Italian Communist party, refused to come to work, saying "America is our enemy. We do not want to work under the American flag." Boss Ranzi fired the four on the spot.

● The American Communist party's primary press organ, The **Daily World**, has celebrated its first birthday with minimal financial losses over the year. The World, which actually publishes only five days a week, succeeded the old Communist Worker publication a year ago. The newspaper had first-year operating expenses of some $800,000, which was covered by donations, inheritances and sales, and an average per-issue circulation of 14,000, over half going into the New York City area. Said Executive Editor Simon Gerson: "We made the 'impossible' possible."

● Since militant **James Forman** first read his Black Manifesto demanding $500 million in "reparations" to American Negroes on May 4, his Black Economic Development Council has collected exactly $18,000. Despite this financial failure, however, church sources report Forman's campaign has sparked widespread debate in religious circles over the churches' role in society.

● The **National Council of Churches** executive committee has been unable to decide whether to support Marxist James Forman's Black Economic Development Conference which is demanding $3 billion in "reparations" from white church groups, but the Conference is currently operating out of the offices of NCC staff members.

● Doubleday publishers have reissued the only book ever penned by President Nixon, his 1962 volume **Six Crises,** complete with a new introduction written by the President last May. The book's last chapter, or "Crisis," dealing with Nixon's unsuccessful race against John F. Kennedy in 1960, has been retitled "The Campaign of 1960." In the original '62 edition the chapter was headed "Defeat."

● Returning from a 13-day visit to the Soviet Union, **Hubert Humphrey** said he opposes deployment of the Safeguard ABM because the Russians wouldn't like it. "If we step up our defenses," he added, "they feel they have to step up on their offensive weapons."

● A Roman Catholic monthly magazine, **St. Anthony Messenger,** recently polled graduates of 15 church-affiliated colleges, asking students to list their "most admired heroes." First-place winner was no surprise, with the late President John F. Kennedy easily taking the honor; JFK was followed by his brother Robert, the Rev. Martin Luther King and Pope John XXIII. However, the individual named as fifth-place runner-up did raise a few eyebrows: Jesus Christ.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One-year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon at right).

Bound volumes, fully indexed. Any year, $20.00. Any six years $100.00.

1968 in 1 Volume
1967 in 1 Volume
1966 in 1 Volume
1962 in 2 Volumes
1961 in 2 Volumes

Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Human Events cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Human Events*.

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

ADDRESS CHANGES: Write new address, city, state and ZIP Code on plain sheet of paper. Attach mailing label from an issue of HUMAN EVENTS and send to: Circulation Department, HUMAN EVENTS, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Allow 3 to 4 weeks for change to become effective.

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HEW Officials Back Radicals

Health, Education and Welfare chieftain Robert Finch may not be aware of it, but HEW's assistant secretary of administration, James Farmer, and Farmer's special assistant, Donald Wendell, have been lending their prestige to a group of radical government employes, many of whom show a distinct liking for Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro.

Known as the Federal Employees for a Democratic Society (FEDS), the group was founded early last year by a former Civil Service Commission and Internal Revenue Service official, Michael Ambrose. Today FEDS claims fewer than a hundred members in some 30 government agencies, but it has been able to enlist more than 20 times this many to sign full-page anti-Viet Nam war ads in local Washington papers.

Last April 1 and May 1, under the name "Federal Employees Against the War in Viet Nam," this same group ran full-page ads in the Washington *Star* signed by some 2,300 government employes. And only this past June, 15 members of FEDS presented a petition to Congress to stop the deployment of the ABM. This petition, signed by 1,728 federal workers, was received by liberal Democrats Don Edwards, Robert Leggett and George Brown Jr., all of California, Floyd Hicks (Wash.), and Andrew Jacobs (Ind.).

Virtually every week FEDS meets as the "Thursday Discussion Group" in Room G-755 in the HEW North Building and normally invites speakers of an extremely radical stripe. The *Advocate*, the FEDS's house organ, advertises the meetings and stresses that they "are closed to reporters and photographers," though reporters have managed to attend.

The list of some of the speakers who have been invited in the past suggests a "Who's Who" in radicalism.

Among the invited guests: Mary Nolan, one of the "Catonsville Nine," who was arrested last year for pouring blood over draft records in Catonsville, Md., near Baltimore; several editors of the underground D.C. newspaper, the Washington *Free Press*, a publication that recently ran a front-page caricature of a Maryland judge gratifying himself sexually; Dennis Livingston, Washington representative of NEWSREEL, a conduit for North Vietnamese, Cuban and Black Panther propaganda; and Manuel Vasquez, director of the Farm Workers Committee, which is fueling the boycott against California table grapes. Vasquez, in his appearance before the group on July 31, called the grape strike "an issue of racism—from President Nixon on down"—presumably because Nixon has refused to support the boycott.

One of those who has also been invited to address FEDS is James Farmer. But when extended an invitation on July 17, Farmer sent his assistant, Donald Wendell, who, according to persons present, scorned President Nixon and referred to him as "Tricky Dick, or should I say now, since he's President, Crafty Dick?"

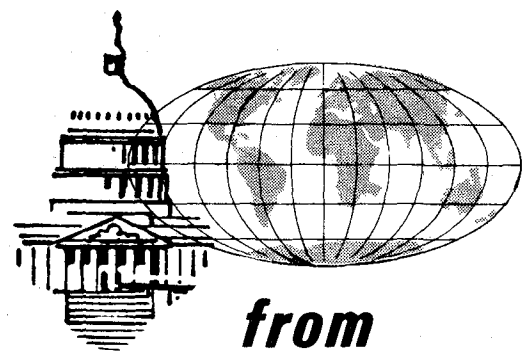
Wendell said the only reason he was at HEW in the first place was because he liked Farmer. Waxing sarcastic, he declared: "You can imagine how much I enjoy working for *this* Administration."

Wendell does not deny he made these remarks. When contacted by *Human Events*, Wendell claimed, "I don't recall making that statement. I was speaking to Local 41 of the American Federation of Government Employes, some of whom happened to be members of FEDS, which is to federal employes what SDS is to the student movement." (In fact, Wendell was speaking to FEDS's Thursday Discussion Group. Local 41 is another FEDS operation).

Wendell, interestingly enough, has always had a taste for radicalism and in 1967 he served as acting director of an inflammatory anti-poverty agency, the United Community Corporation, in Newark, N.J. The radical activities of that organization are cited chapter and verse in April 1968 hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

While former HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen and Finch himself have been unhappy with FEDS, regulations and court injunctions make it difficult to act against the organization—even though its publication the *Advocate*, has actually been sent through the mails in franked envelopes. But there seems no valid reason whatsoever why top HEW officials have to send speakers to the organization, and surely Finch must have the power to fire officials who use this radical group as a sounding board to denigrate the President.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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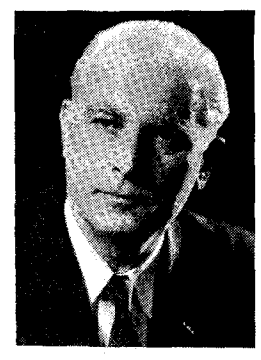
Inside Washington

Why the ABM

As the Senate prepares for the ABM vote this week, many lawmakers will ponder the solid arguments presented for the Safeguard's deployment by Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.).



DODD

The Connecticut lawmaker said last week that the ABM should be deployed, if for no other reason than to deal with accidental missile firings from either Soviet Russia, Red China or any other country that develops offensive nuclear missiles in the near future.

If one day, said Dodd, Soviet Premier Kosygin were to inform the President that there had been a terrible accident and an SS-9 were heading toward New York City, the President of the United States, without Safeguard, would have only two choices: He could let the missile destroy New York without retaliation, or he could order a retaliatory strike against Moscow—which would probably result in an all-out thermonuclear war. But if we had the Safeguard, says Dodd, the President could simply order that the incoming missile be shot down.

"Even the harshest critics of the Safeguard system," said Dodd, "do not deny its capability to deal with a single incoming missile or with a small salvo of missiles. . . .If the Safeguard system could accomplish nothing more than this one thing; that is, protecting the world against the possibility of thermonuclear war by accident, the system would be worth every penny of what it costs."

Surtax: Nixon Gets Half Loaf

The Nixon Administration has won half a loaf in its surtax battle with Senate liberal Democrats, winning a six-month extension of the 10 per cent added tax through the end of December. An Administration-backed amendment to have the tax continued a 5 per cent from January-June 1970, was defeated.

White House economists still maintain that the 5 per cent January-June surtax extension is essential in the fight against inflation and Administration lobbyists will continue to battle for this in the Senate. The House has already passed the full one-year extension, but Senate liberals are holding out for sweeping tax reform before again considering a second six-month surtax continuation.

Meanwhile, the House Ways and Means Committee last week concluded writing what one member termed "the most sweeping tax reform legislation in this century." The main beneficiaries of the proposed bill would be low- and middle-income taxpayers, through an increased standard deduction, liberalized low-income allowances, a maximum mandatory 50 per cent tax on upper-income taxpayers and new concessions for widows, widowers and single persons over 35. The legislation, as written by the committee, would result in a tax rate reduction cutting most tax bills by an average of 5 per cent beginning in 1971.

• The Nixon Administration still wants the surtax to combat inflation, despite the news last week that it wound up with a $3.1-billion "surplus" for fiscal 1969. The reason for this is that the surplus isn't really a surplus after all. As Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, pointed out last week, the surplus is based on the "unified budget" concept which takes into consideration all of the revenues that the U.S. government collects from any category minus the expenditures.

But most of the surplus, says Williams, is accounted for by the amount of money accumulated by special trust funds like Social Security and Medicare. Under the law, however, not one dime that is in the trust funds can be used by the government, by any government agency or by Congress to defray the normal operating costs of the government. Actually, says Williams, the government operated in fiscal 1969—which ended June 30—at a "deficit of over $8 billion," which will have to be made up through either taxes or borrowing.

Teddy's Curtain of Silence

• The Unanswered Questions

Apparently satisfied that the voters of Massachusetts don't want him to quit after all, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) returned to Capitol Hill last week for the first time since the accident at Chappaquiddick Island that claimed the life of Mary Jo Kopechne. Appearing composed, he was greeted by a throng of well wishers on the Senate steps of the Capitol and, as he went onto the Senate floor, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said, "Come in, Ted, you're right back where you belong."

Ruling out a 1972 presidential bid on the grounds that he had a "commitment. . .to the people of Massachusetts who have been so responsive," Kennedy said he intended to run again in 1970 and "fill out my Senate term if I am re-elected." Few political observers, however, believe he would really refuse a presidential "draft" if one came along—or were manufactured.

But while talkative about certain things, the last surviving son of former Ambassador Joseph Kennedy still stubbornly refused to clear up many of the mysteries surrounding his two explanations of the Chappaquiddick episode.

When pressed outside the Senate chamber to amplify his two statements on the event, Kennedy said: "I've tried to the best of my ability in the reports that have been made to give the facts. I wouldn't have any further comment." Ever? "No, I don't," he said firmly.

Kennedy made his declaration even as District Attorney Edmund Dinis moved to reopen the Kennedy case by seeking an inquest into the death of Miss Kopechne, the 28-year-old Washington secretary who drowned when Teddy drove his car off a wooden bridge into Poucha Pond.

The curtain of silence that Teddy has tried to lower over the incident has only increased speculation in Washington and around the country and has stimulated reporters to continue delving into what really happened on that ill-fated July 19 morning.

Nor is Teddy's silence necessarily proving golden, so far as his future presidential chances are concerned. As one Democratic politician put it: "How can we ever nominate Teddy so long as the incident remains shrouded in secrecy? What we Democrats all fear, of course, is that if Teddy were nominated, some terribly damaging aspect of the accident would suddenly surface and explode in the party's face. Right now Teddy is a stick of dynamite, with a long, burning fuse."

Kennedy's nationally televised statement July 25—broadcast on prime time given free to the millionaire senator by the three networks—was devised as a major step toward rebuilding his tattered political

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image. But while considered a nice piece of theater, it may conceivably have done him far more damage than was initially believed.

Kennedy pleaded to the nation that his actions were "indefensible" and he shattered those who have looked upon him as presidential timber with the blunt confession that after the accident he had been overcome by "grief, fear, doubt, torture, panic, confusion, exhaustion and shock" and that he had desperately hoped that "the awful weight of this incredible instant might some way pass from my shoulders. . . ." However human these emotions may be, they are not those Americans look for in their President.

Aside from abjectly confessing his own failure to act in an individually responsible manner in a personal crisis, causing many to wonder how he would act in a national crisis of greater magnitude, Kennedy still refused to clarify the strange circumstances surrounding the affair and made assertions that seemed unreal. As Washington *Post* columnist Nicholas von Hoffman noted, it took "work and concentration to believe what he said."

Then, on the basis of his hazy and, in places, seemingly incredible statement—which was not even open to cross-examination by reporters—he asked the voters of Massachusetts to indicate whether he should resign his seat in the Senate, clearly hoping, of course, that his Massachusetts constituents, those most favorable to him, would not wish out of office the last of the Kennedy officeholders.

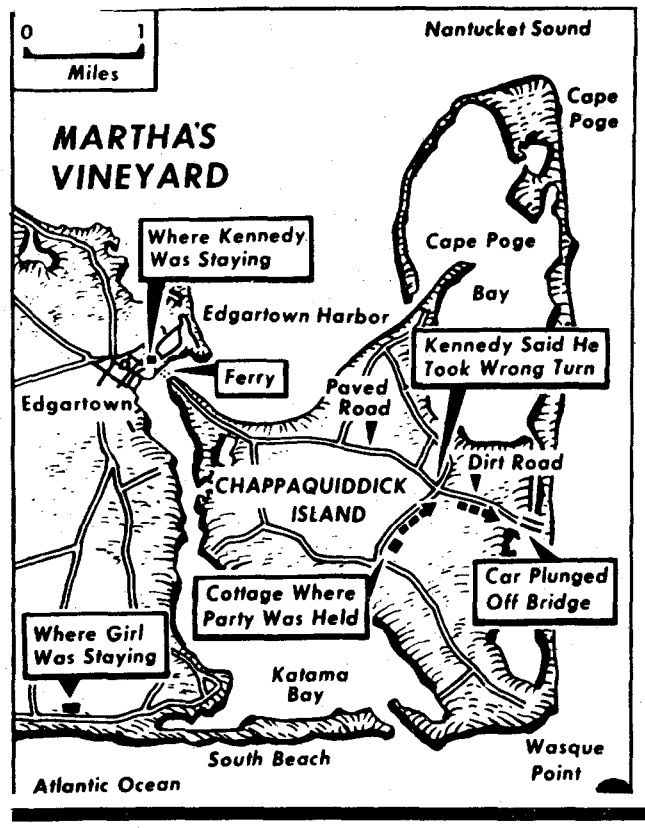
Claiming it was unfair for Teddy to ask the public to give him a vote of confidence on the information he had released, the New York *Times'* James Reston maintained:

"For the hard facts are that he ducked the main questions, evaded the press, pleaded guilty to the charge of not reporting the accident on time, which avoided cross-examination in the court. And in these circumstances—with all the witnesses to the evening's proceedings gone from the island and silenced, and all questions to the senator barred in court—it is not clear why he and his counselors should raise the moral issue and appeal to the voters who have no means of questioning the cast of characters." (Teddy had raised the moral issue by claiming that a "man does what he must, in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles and dangers and pressures, and that is the basis of all morality"—one of the quotes in the speech, by the way, taken without identifying the source, from his brother's *Profiles in Courage*.)

Pleading with the senator to clear up the "questions that won't go away," the usually pro-Kennedy Washington *Post* last week acknowledged that Teddy's "television appearance did not dispel the doubts and neither did the informal vote of confidence he solicited and received from the people of Massachusetts, because that was predictable."

The questions that still cry out for an explanation are legion.

In his TV address, for instance, Teddy claimed he had been silent during the week after the accident because "prior to my appearance in court it would have been improper for me to comment on these matters, but tonight I am free to tell you what happened. . . ." "Free" though he may have been, he nevertheless did not say what happened. And if he is "free" to explain the episode, why does he continue to refuse to respond to the persistent questions of reporters?



On July 18, preceding the fatal accident, Teddy attended a cookout at a cottage on Chappaquiddick Island, a gathering he says he "encouraged and helped sponsor for a devoted group of Kennedy campaign secretaries." "When I left the party around 11:15 p.m.," his TV statement continued, "I was accompanied by one of these girls, Miss Mary Jo Kopechne."

But did he really leave the party at 11:15 and did he leave with only Miss Kopechne, as he claims? The fact is that Christopher Look Jr., a part-time deputy sheriff, remains unshakable in his conviction that he saw Teddy's black Oldsmobile sedan about 12:50 a.m. on Saturday near Dyke Road, the dirt road that led to the wooden bridge and the scene of the fatal accident.

Look thinks he saw two, possibly three, persons in the car, but only one of them a man. He stopped his car and offered assistance. Though he was wearing a guard's uniform, he heard no response before the other car turned right on Dyke. But Look noticed the car's color and model type and memorized the first letter of the license plate—L—and the last two numbers—07. And it is on this basis he believes it was Kennedy's 1967 Oldsmobile with the license L 78207.

In neither of Teddy's statements has he ever addressed himself to the burning question of why he turned onto Dyke Road. In his original statement to the police, Kennedy claimed: ". . .I was driving my car on Main Street on my way to get the ferry back to Edgartown. I was unfamiliar with the road and turned right onto Dyke Road instead of bearing hard on Main Street." By Main Street, he meant Chappaquiddick Road, the island's only paved street and the one that leads to the ferry—in the opposite direction from Dyke Road.

But *why*, first of all, would Kennedy have been "unfamiliar" with the road? By his own admission, his family had come to Edgartown for the boat races for the past 30 years and Chappaquiddick Island residents say Teddy has frequently visited their island.

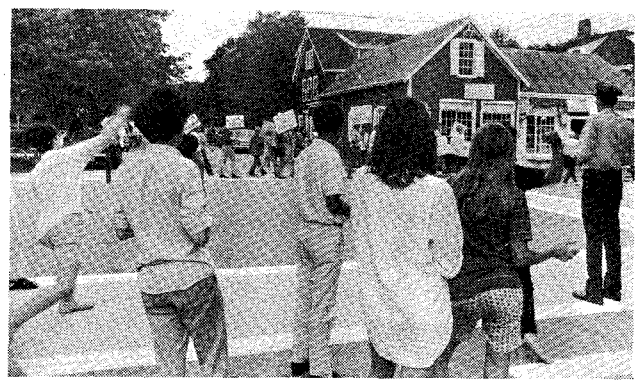
The Associated Press quotes a college student as saying he saw Kennedy at least once, possibly twice, before the accident, traveling on the main road. An Edgartown policeman also stressed that the Kennedy brothers knew the entire area well. "One resident of Chappaquiddick," noted the AP, "an attractive blond in her 20s, was sitting at the graffiti-covered ferry shack. . . .Asking that her name not be used, she said: 'I've been on the island for the last five summers and I think he's come over here every summer.'"

Forgotten, in addition, is the fact that Teddy brought his car over from Edgartown to Chappaquiddick by ferry on that fateful Friday night. From the ferry slip, in daylight, he drove to the cottage via the paved Chappaquiddick Road, right past the entrance to dirt Dyke Road.

Thus Kennedy, only a few hours before his accident, had taken the road which he claimed was "unfamiliar" to him.

Moreover, as a picture in the August 1 issue of *Life* magazine makes convincingly clear, Kennedy, even if he hadn't known the road, would have still found it extremely difficult to turn onto Dyke Road by "mistake." The road leading from the cottage to the ferry is completely paved with a faded white line down the center, while Dyke is a narrow, gravelly dirt road, almost hidden from view by bushes in the direction Teddy was supposedly traveling. To get onto Dyke requires a driver to slow down and make a hard right. And could the senator, with his car rattling down the dirt road, really have traveled the six-tenths of a mile to the bridge without knowing that he was on the wrong course?

Kennedy claimed in his TV address that, "There



Hyannis Port residents pelt anti-Kennedy demonstrators with eggs and watermelon as a policeman at right stands by.

is no truth, no truth whatever, to the widely circulated suspicions of immoral conduct that have been leveled at my behavior and hers [Miss Kopechne's] regarding that evening. There has never been a private relationship between us of any kind. I know of nothing in Mary Jo's conduct on that or any other occasion, and the same is true of the other girls at that party, that would lend any substance to such ugly speculation about their character—nor was I driving under the influence of liquor."

Kennedy made this statement in a dramatic accusing tone, but it was Kennedy and his friends at the party who gave rise to such speculation by their refusal to say anything for nearly a week after the accident. Furthermore, the circumstances surrounding the party were such as to raise suspicions: Only six men, five of them married, and six single women attended an informally arranged cookout, eight of whom apparently stayed overnight rather than returning to their lodgings across the channel.

As to Kennedy's assertion he was not driving "under the influence of liquor"—an obviously subjective remark that does not, in fact, deny he had been drinking—the public has only his word to go on. He did not take any breathalyzer test at the time and he did not show up at the police station until some nine hours after the accident.

Most surprising was this fresh piece of news that Teddy threw into his TV address: He claimed he walked from the accident "back to the cottage, where the party was being held, and requested the help of two friends, my cousin Joseph Gargan, and Paul Markham, and directed them to return immediately to the scene with me—this was sometime after midnight—in order to undertake a new effort to dive down and locate Miss Kopechne. Their strenuous efforts, undertaken at some risk to their own lives, also proved futile."

Yet in Teddy's original statement to police, which was actually worked on by lawyer Markham who had accompanied Teddy to the police station, there is not a single hint that this ever occurred.

Why had both Teddy and Markham deliberately omitted this crucial fact from the first account? Why didn't either Gargan or Markham immediately call for help for the victim? Why didn't either one of them contact police? Teddy may have been in a state of shock, but neither Gargan nor Markham were and, according to many reputable lawyers, they had a duty—if not legal, certainly moral—to report the accident.

Furthermore, it is possible—though perhaps not probable—that Miss Kopechne's life could have been saved if one of the three men had called for help.

Scuba diver John N. Farrar, who recovered the body of Miss Kopechne, claimed there was a chance her life could have been saved if authorities had been notified immediately after the accident.

"I feel very strongly," he said, "that if we had been called at the time of the accident, there was a great possibility that we could have saved her life. The fact that one of the car windows was open and some were broken would not prevent an air bubble from having formed on the top," he claimed. "Judging from the position of the body in the car," he said, "she was holding herself in such a position as to take advantage of the last remaining air." Farrar said persons in cars overturned in water have been known to stay alive as long as five hours.

By no means are these the only disturbing questions and events that Sen. Kennedy has failed to explain

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away. Yet he still maintains his silence. Summing up the entire affair so far, the New York **Times** perhaps said it better than anyone else:

"The response of many thousands of citizens of Massachusetts to Senator Edward M. Kennedy's appeal was predictable. And so was his announcement. . . . that he would indeed remain as Senator from Massachusetts and seek re-election next year. . . .

"When he ostensibly asked the electorate for 'advice,' Senator Kennedy was really asking for an outpouring of support on the basis of a partially irrelevant and totally unsatisfactory *ex parte* account of the tragic events of the night and early morning of July 18-19. . .

"Senator Kennedy himself said that his failure to report the accident immediately was 'indefensible.' But that was not the only thing that appeared indefensible. It was indefensible—or so it seems in the present state of our knowledge—for the Senator to fail to seek immediate help from occupants of a nearby house, to walk more than a mile past other houses to confer with friends, to bring them back to the scene of the accident still without notifying anyone else and to delay informing the police for many hours until the next morning. If the Senator was in shock, he could hardly have done some of these things; if he was not, he could hardly be excused for doing them.

"The picture of the Senator locking himself up in his Hyannis Port compound for a solid week while conferring with the most high-powered advisers available is not a pretty one. It reinforces the suspicion, already aroused by his failure to report the accident until after he had conferred or tried to confer with a battery of lawyers, that his priority interest from the moment of the accident was to avoid assumption of responsibliity for this tragic situation.

"So does the subsequent procedure in Edgartown, where a plea of guilty to leaving the scene of an accident forestalled any further questioning —and, presumably, by any officials of the State of Massachusetts, not that they have shown much interest in asking questions in the first place.

"Senator Kennedy may well have told nothing but the truth in this matter. . . .But there are so many gaping holes in the story which he has so assiduously avoided filling, there is such an unmistakable atmosphere of calculated evaluation for maximum or, as the case may be, minimum—public effect, that we cannot consider the matter to have been satisfactorily resolved in any sense. . . ."

• Why No Autopsy?

Medical experts throughout the country have expressed amazement and dismay at the refusal of Massachusetts authorities to perform an autopsy on Mary Jo Kopechne.

Almost to a man, they declared that an autopsy should be standard procedure in such an accident and, in fact, that the cause of death could not be determined without one.

"It's a real farce to bring the body of a dead girl out of a car after nine hours and have someone make a pronouncement that it is a routine drowning," said Dr. John Edland, a nationally prominent forensic pathology expert who is the Monroe County (Rochester) N.Y. medical examiner.

"The medical examiner has a responsibility to be an impartial judge of the cause and circumstances of death. It's pretty poor policy because of the personalities to whitewash it over like a mid-19th Century coroner might do."

Dr. Lester Adelson, professor of forensic pathology at Western Reserve Medical School and another top expert, noted that an autopsy could have determined exactly how Miss Kopechne died—and end "all kinds of ugly rumors and speculation. There is everything to gain and nothing to lose by performing an autopsy in a case of this kind."

The Suffolk County, N.Y., medical examiner, Dr. Sidney Weinberg, who lectures on forensic pathology at Columbia University, noted that "we don't know if the girl died from drowning or from injury, or, in fact, if she was dead before she got into the car."

An autopsy was required of all victims of automobile accidents in his baliwick, Dr. Weinberg said, and that "when any young person dies, we have to have answers for it." He added, "When you have a young woman of child-bearing age, you are doubly suspicious" and that the body is examined for signs of pregnancy and criminal abortion.

• Those 'Spontaneous' Telegrams

That "spontaneous" outpouring of letters and telegrams urging Teddy to stay on the job was viewed in the Nation's Capital last week as in good part a cynical political gimmick.

Columnists Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith reported that the idea of soliciting public support was speechwriter Richard Goodwin's. "That'll get them," Goodwin was quoted as saying at Hyannis Port. "That's got sex appeal."

There is evidence, moreover, that many of the letters and telegrams were generated by the Kennedy organization. Columnist Ted Lewis wrote in the New York *Daily News* that "loyal precinct workers in Roxbury, Lexington, Concord and Chicopee Falls" were responsible, in part, for getting out the missives.

And Allen-Goldsmith further reported that even before the televised speech, "the word was being spread by telephone and other means to Kennedy liegemen and devotees throughout the country to make every effort to ensure a deluge of favorable responses." A "boiler room" team was set up to solicit supporting messages from all parts of the country. Ironically, Mary Jo Kopechne was a member of the 1968 "boiler room girls."

• Ethics of Teddy's Lawyers

Why didn't Kennedy associates Joe Gargan and Paul Markham report the Massachusetts senator's auto accident after he had returned to the Chappaquiddick Island cottage to tell them about it? This question has been one of the more mysterious and shadier aspects of the accident-tragedy.

One Massachusetts bar official claimed that Gargan and Markham, as lawyers representing Kennedy, would have violated legal ethics in reporting the senator's accident without his permission. For them to do otherwise, said these officials, would have been a breach of the canon of ethics governing attorney-client confidences.

Other and more impressive authorities, however, maintain that his position overlooks the fact that every passing moment during which Kennedy failed to call the police he was in the act of commiting the crime of leaving the scene and failing to report an accident. And legal ethics expressly forbid a lawyer from counseling his client to commit a crime, or to assist him in doing so.

The American Bar Association's Canon 37, in discussing the subject of attorney-client relationships, says, "The announced intention of a client to commit a crime is not included within the confidences which he [the attorney] is bound to respect. He may properly make such disclosures as may be necessary to prevent the act or to protect those against whom it is threatened."

Prominent Boston attorney William McCormack adds that Markham and Gargan "couldn't have relieved themselves of the responsibility to report [the incident] to the authorities. It would be a breach of ethics to counsel a client to violate a law or to violate a law themselves."

Ethical questions notwithstanding, even Edgartown Police Chief Dominick Arena, an open admirer of the Kennedy family, agrees that Markham and Gargan "had a moral obligation to report the accident."

• Ex-ADAer Roasts Kennedy

Some of the sharpest comments on Teddy's behavior appeared—but only briefly—in the July 31 Washington *Post*. They were authored by certified liberal Prof. John P. Roche of Boston's Brandeis University, a former national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action.

The first edition of the *Post* carried a column by Roche entitled "Senator Kennedy's Actions Dictate Resignation," but the column mysteriously disappeared from succeding editions.

For the record, Roche said: "What concerns me and should, I think, concern everyone is Sen. Kennedy's public behavior, his actions, not only as a citizen, but as a high public official who has been pushed for the presidency of the United States.

"To make an analogy, what would we think of a captain of an ocean liner who, upon hearing the fire bell, started rushing around the ship with a bucket of water? All would, I am sure, concede he was a fine, sincere, dedicated man, but a captain?. . .Once the car was in the water and he was unable to rescue Miss Kopechne, the public question must be: why didn't he blow the whistle? If he had gone to the first house, he could have reached the police. In 15 minutes the chopper would have been hovering over the scene, lighting it up and the scuba divers of the Edgartown Fire Department would soon have been at work.

"This might not have made any difference—Miss Kopechne might have drowned immediately—but it would have been a public response and people trapped in cars have stayed alive for hours with air-bubbles."

Charles Edison

1890 - 1969

Charles Edison, a longtime friend and loyal supporter of this publication and countless other organizations in the American conservative movement, died last week in New York City. He was 78. The son of inventor Thomas A. Edison, he had an illustrious career of his own as a business, civic and political leader. After serving in several posts in Franklin Roosevelt's Administration as an ardent New Dealer, he was appointed secretary of the Navy in 1939. He resigned the next year to run successfully for governor of New Jersey. His turbulent term of office was marked by much intra-party strife over his refusal to knuckle under to the dictates of Frank Hague and other Democratic bosses. After leaving office, he changed his party registration to Republican and spent the remainder of his life battling for the conservative principles in which he had come to believe. This year one of his great interests had been the election of Republican-Conservative John Marchi as mayor of New York.

A kindly man who so often found time for talks with a variety of people in his Waldorf Towers apartment, Gov. Edison had as a special concern the activities of America's young conservatives. He was always interested in *Human Events'* summer intern program and the activities of Young Americans for Freedom and looked forward to watching the growth of the Charles Edison Youth Fund, a group he founded not long before his death.

Gov. Edison, whose wife died in 1963, leaves a brother and a sister. We know our many subscribers who were aware of the governor's generous support of the conservative cause over the years join with us in extending them our deepest sympathy.

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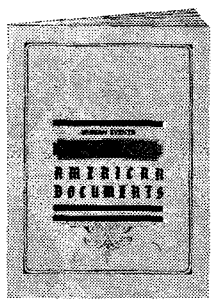

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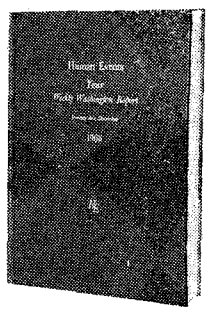

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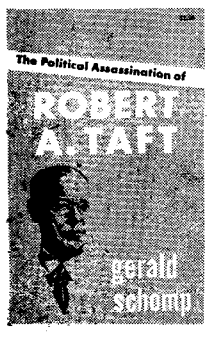

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Dirksen Keeps Pushing His Anti-Court Crusade

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Just a few weeks ago Sen. Everett Dirksen seemed on the verge of winning a stunning victory in his crusade to get the states to call a constitutional convention aimed at invalidating the Supreme Court decree that both houses in state legislatures must be elected on a "one-man, one-vote" basis. Thirty-three states had petitioned Congress for the convention, which was just one short of the necessary two-thirds majority. Then North Carolina rescinded its vote, leaving Dirksen with two to go.

Despite some setbacks and the cries of *fearful liberals*, Sen. Dirksen continues his battle for the constitutional convention.

Far from giving up on his efforts to reprimand the Supreme Court for venturing—unconstitutionally, as he thinks—into the "thicket" of legislative apportionment, Dirksen is just as hopeful as ever that victory lies around the corner. The Wisconsin and Delaware legislatures are currently considering the Dirksen proposition. If the result is a "yes" vote in the two states, it will be mandatory for the U.S. Senate to issue a call for the convention.

The hobgoblin argument being pressed by Dirksen's enemies is that a constitutional convention cannot be limited to considering just one item. The spectre of a "runaway" convention bent on repealing the Bill of Rights is continually raised to throw roadblocks in Dirksen's way. The prospect of a convention beset by violence, with the TV cameras carrying the chaotic scenes into practically every home in the land, had a great deal to do with North Carolina's decision to retract its original endorsement of the idea of a convention call.

Possible repeal of the Bill of Rights is the hangup that has the liberals squealing in alarm against a convention. But now the conservatives, who have always been in Dirksen's corner in their insistence that the Founding Fathers intended each state to be the judge of whether or not it wanted to have one legislative branch based on geographical considerations, are reacting to a menace from another quarter.

Up in the hills behind Santa Barbara, Calif., Rexford Guy Tugwell, the old New Dealer, has been busy working up an "ideal" new Constitution for 20th Century America for Robert Hutchins' Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Tugwell would like to abolish the present Constitution and begin over again, with none of this business of letting little Delaware and Rhode Island have as much senatorial power as New York or California. In fact, Tugwell would like to eradicate the present state lines in favor of a few big regional districts. Some conservatives now profess to worry that the Tugwellites may move in on any constitutional convention that might be called.

Ev Dirksen reacts to the fears of liberals and conservatives alike by suggesting that they are preposterous. He didn't use that particular word, but he did say, in an interview the other day in his Senate minority leader's office on Capitol Hill, that "the people's candidates to a convention would have a high constitutional regard."

"They would be no band of renegades," he insisted. In any event, so he continued in his able dismissal of the "runaway convention" worry, the result of the delegates' deliberations "would have to go back to the states for ratification." "Can you see two-thirds of the states ratifying anything dangerous?" he asked. "We have seen straw men set up before this. They set 'em up, and they knock 'em down."

The Dirksen feeling that his opponents are being a little ridiculous in raising the "runaway convention" bogeyman is utterly convincing as he expounds it to a single visitor. But with the liberal propaganda machine being what it is, it is quite another thing to make the legislators in distant state capitals see the ridiculous side of the matter.

The Senate Republican minority leader can hardly desert his post on Capitol Hill to make a personal appearance before the Wisconsin and Delaware legislators. But the state legislative leaders might drop in on Old Ev in Washington. They would be both amused and convinced.

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PISTOL-PACKIN' TEACHERS—"'As many as three-fourths of the teachers in the East St. Louis public schools carry firearms, it was learned after a student protest over the appointment of a high school principal.' That isn't East St. Louis, Slobbovia—nor in the wilds of Borneo. It's East St. Louis, Ill., U.S.A. And the assertion is an official disclosure published on page one of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. The president of the school board stated that the teachers were not authorized to arm themselves, but that the majority did. Women, he said, carry small pistols in their purses and about 90 per cent of the men are armed. The school district has about 900 teachers. The stock explanation was that faculty people were thus equipped, on their own initiative, for personal safety either in school or homeward bound in the late afternoon. Anyone shocked by the disclosure could profitably ponder the fact that such institutions do not remain a vacuum. When Bible-reading, devotions, and prayer were outlawed by judicial fiat, circumstantial necessity for pistols moved in."—From the Nashville *Banner*

□□□

TED SORENSEN is getting ready to throw his hat into the 1970 New York senatorial race. Sorensen, who had earlier taken himself out of consideration, indicated that he has changed his mind. While it is a "little premature" to make formal announcement, Sorensen said recently, "I am giving it serious consideration."

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NATO in Trouble?

Conversations With Two Italians

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Rome:—"Now that your astronauts have irrefutably demonstrated the superiority of freedom, democracy and private initiative, why does your President not rally the free world to prevent the Soviet Union from steadily tightening its hold upon the Middle East and the Mediterranean?"

The questioner was a retired diplomat well known here for his exceptional grasp of world affairs.

"Because he is seeking peace with Moscow," I answered. "And if the Italian government does not agree that further draughts of the 'spirit of Glassboro' will do the trick, why does it not make clear its opposition to this spirit and try to convince the other NATO countries, and America, to oppose any further expansion of Soviet power and influence, not only in the Mediterranean but in the Far East?"

"Because," the former ambassador explained, "the center-left coalition that has been trying to govern Italy is even more committed to the Kennedy-Johnson policy of seeking cooperation with the USSR than Nixon is—or so I judge. What it wants is more Italian trade with any country, regardless of its political intentions or ideology."

"This seems to be true of all our allies from Canada to Turkey, with the possible exception of Greece—regardless of the fact that in the last 14 years Russia has become the second most powerful country in the Mediterranean. It may already be the most influential in that area. As a professional, how would you describe the Kremlin's present policy in the Middle East?" I asked.

"You mean as an ex-professional. Obviously Soviet pressure in the Middle East is increasing from month to month. But this is not a new policy.

"Ever since Peter the Great, Russia has sought to become a Mediterranean power. The first seven attempts, including that of Stalin, were thwarted by Britain, France and Turkey.

"Yet the eighth thrust, started by Khrushchev and developed by his successors, is succeeding—thanks largely to American and European indifference and, in the Suez crisis of 1956, to American assistance. It is a fine example of the real meaning of the Soviets' new strategy of 'peaceful coexistence' under which they spread their power by assisting any anti-Western state whether or not it is Communistic at home.

"In the Middle East, this started with Moscow's help to Egypt, which encouraged Nasser to seize the Suez Canal. When the West failed to react, the Russians knew it was safe to go ahead. The result was an emphasis on building naval power. In the early '60s, Adm. Gorshkov told his countrymen that thenceforth Russia 'must be able to fight at any time at any point on the world's seas.' As part of this, Moscow obtained permission to use Arab bases at Latakia in Syria, at Alexandria and at Mers El-Kebir. It is currently seeking similar rights at Malta, in Italy's back yard, so to speak.

"The basic purposes are 1) obtaining predominant influence over the Arab states; 2) forcing the U.S. fleet out of the Mediterranean; and 3) ultimately disrupting NATO.

"And it is costing money. In the 10 years before 1967, Moscow armed 'friendly' Arab states to the tune of $2.5 billion dollars. In June of that year it encouraged Nasser to provoke Israel in the expectancy of an easy Arab victory. To make this adventure 'safe,' the Kremlin used the 'hot line' to President Johnson to obtain an agreement on reciprocal neutrality.

"Unfortunately for Moscow, the Israelis made monkeys of the Arabs and Soviet prestige in the Arab world dropped to zero.

"Yet since the United States remained 'neutral,' the Kremlin turned defeat into a kind of victory by again bolstering its inept pro-Soviet allies.

"It has since replaced the lost arms, this time to the tune of $3 billion, has sent thousands of military experts to Egypt and hundreds to Syria and Iraq, is encouraging the Arab guerrillas to carry on the fight and while pretending to work with America for 'peace,' has insisted on terms which the Kremlin men know are inacceptable to Israel.

"Simultaneously, Russia has increased its Mediterranean fleet from 40 to 50 ships, has warmed up its courtship of Turkey, offered commercial opportunities to Britain, Italy and Germany with the last of which it claims to be seeking better relations.

"The immediate aims are the reopening of the Suez Canal, Israel's retreat to the 1967 frontier, Soviet participation in all decisions concerning the Mediterranean and dominance of the Middle Eastern oil areas.

"This being known in America," the ambassador concluded, "I cannot understand why your President does not organize the NATO forces to block it."

"Some Americans attribute this either to the President's optimistic estimate of the Soviet regime or to his desire to demonstrate once more that the Kremlin remains the obstacle to real peace. Let us hope it is the latter," I answered.

"Amen!" said the retired diplomat.

★ ★ ★

The optimistic view of the world situation was given me by a well-known Italian newsman to whom I put the question, "Why do so many Italians seem

The Italians under Benito Mussolini (above) tried to become a total Mediterranean power—with disastrous results.

content to remain a sort of Russo-American protectorate?"

His answer: "We put it differently. We have learned our lesson. We followed Mussolini into Hitler's war. But for the King's and Badoglio's shift to your side in the nick of time, it would have been utterly disastrous.

"Now what we want are peace and prosperity. Russo-American cooperation, or even a permanent truce, should insure both. For we know the United States cannot afford to turn over West Europe to the Kremlin.

"But even if we wished, we Italians could never be more than a third-rate power.

"True, while waiting for the Russo-American detente, Italy, like Britain and the Benelux countries, heartily supports NATO. And of course we feel close to America and take immense pride in your landing on the moon. But unlike France, and possibly Germany, we recognize the world as it is.

"DeGaulle's anti-NATO 'great power' policy was not only harmful but ridiculous. The French have tried to remain isolationist in a world where no country can be isolated. The French bourgeoisie is still blind to the fact that France cannot afford nationalism. But they are intelligent and now that deGaulle has gone, may come to their senses.

"Germany's situation is more complex. The Germans are potentially more powerful than other European peoples and are justly incensed by the enforced division of their country. But not only the Russians but the West European peoples who felt the brutal weight of the German paw are not unhappy over the fact of two Germanys. So what can the Germans do?"

I disagreed. "A united Western Europe, including Britain, would have nothing to fear from Germany or, in the long run, from Russia, and could once more play an important world role."

It was his turn to disagree. "In spite of the Common Market, a politically united Europe is still a dream. Russia fears it. The French don't want it. Most Italians are more interested in their next pay raise. All your Presidents since Roosevelt have considered peace with Russia more important."

"But if Nixon's wooing of Moscow turns out to be no more successful concerning the Middle East, Viet Nam and disarmament than such a policy has in the past, that majority of Americans who, in 1968, voted for a change will demand returning to Dulles' emphasis on creating a united West. Russia's obvious difficulties should make this even more effective.

"Meanwhile, I assume, our landing on the moon will have increased U.S. prestige everywhere. At such a point would not almost any Italian government join us in seeking a united powerful Europe as a member of an equal Atlantic partnership with a common policy?"

My newspaper friend nodded. "In that case, perhaps yes. But that day"—shaking his head—"is still far off, if indeed it ever arrives."

Whereupon, according to sacred European custom, we shook hands and parted.

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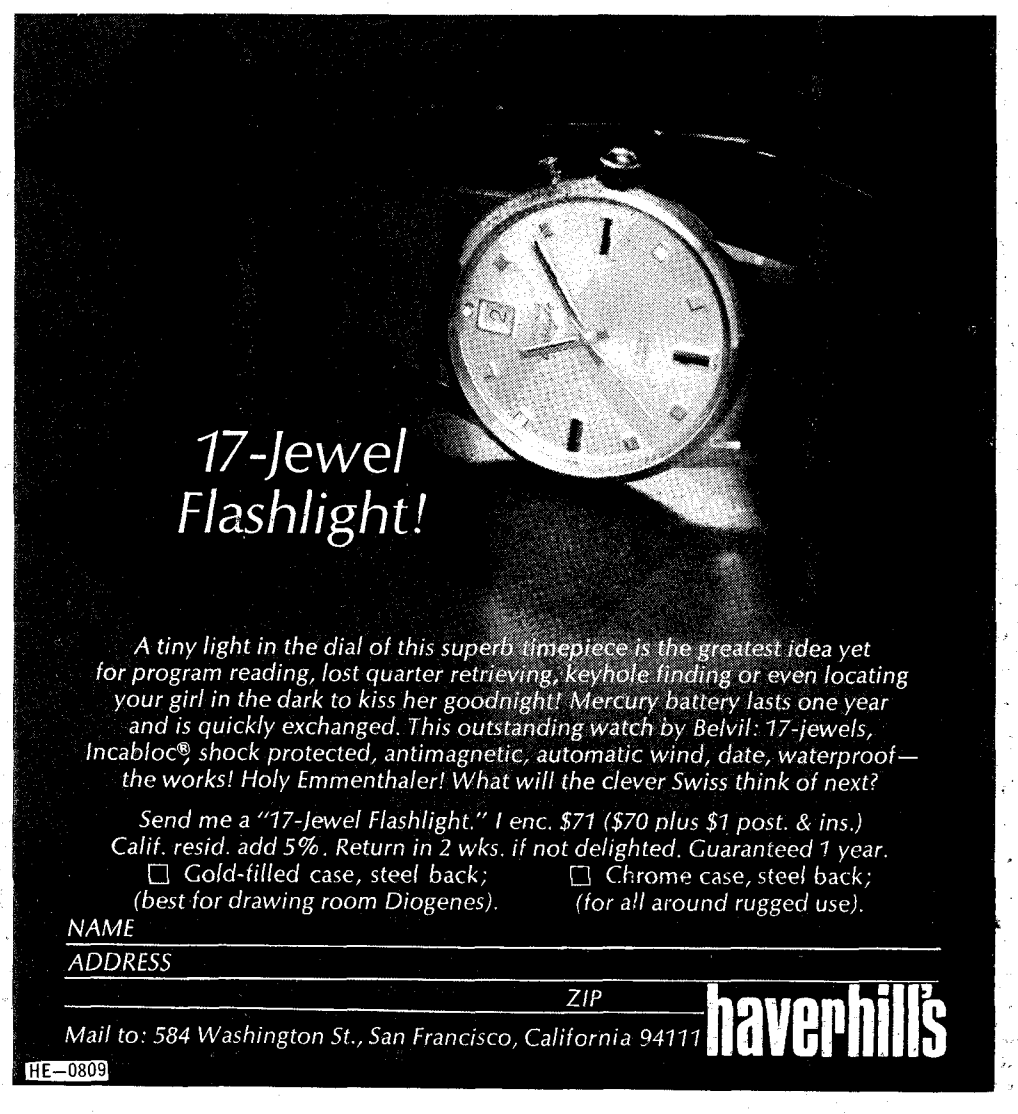

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Press Comments on Teddy's 'Explanation'

Washington Post:

Sen. Edward Kennedy did not answer all questions that have been asked about the traffic accident . . . so, inevitably, his performance had some quality of contrivance, some of the marks of a public man maneuvering to preserve his position in public life.

Manchester (N.H.) Union-Leader:

Do you think that if *you* had failed to report an accident in which someone was killed until more than eight hours had passed *you* would be given a suspended two months' jail sentence—and that there would be no inquiry into the details of what had happened? You can bet your last dollar that wouldn't happen to you, to us or to anyone else. But it *did* happen that way in the case of Sen. Edward Moore Kennedy.

Chicago Daily News:

His extraordinary report to the people surely earned him high marks for courage as well as stage presence. . . . Yet for all its drama and sincere humility, the statement raised as many questions as it answered. The hours in which the fatal accident went unreported are still not wholly accounted for. Our hope is that he can finish out his term in the Senate and leave it up to the voters of Massachusetts next year as to whether he should return.

Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch:

Many Americans would view with great fear the prospect of the highest office in the land, with its awesome crises and responsibilities, being held by a man who reacted as Sen. Kennedy did to his automobile accident.

Chicago Tribune:

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, in an emotionally charged and eloquent television talk . . . asked his Massachusetts constituents for a vote of confidence. . . . It seems likely that he will win this test. . . . There is much more doubt that his talk will repair the damage to his prospects as a national political leader and possibly a presidential candidate in 1972. The talk cast no light upon the mystery concerning his ability to act in a crisis. . . . In fact, the talk added to the mystery. . . . The senator's television talk, then, may become the most complete public record on this tragic event, though it would seem to be in his best interest that a full disclosure be made by all persons with any knowledge of the incident. Until this is done the suspicions he decried in the talk are likely to continue. The record, as it stands, will not enhance Sen. Kennedy's political prospects beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts.

Miami Herald:

The question is whether one rash act of bad judgment or a very human reaction must challenge in the public mind the senator's pretensions to statesmanship which allows precious little margin for error.

San Diego Union:

Premature judgment, it is true, can condemn those who judge as well as those who are judged. Nevertheless, the explanations of Sen. Kennedy . . . do not meet his full responsibilities as a major public figure. The senator's plea of guilty to a charge of leaving the scene of an accident only diminishes the likelihood of a thorough investigation and public airing of the entire circumstances. . . . The senator's highly emotional television presentation still does not clarify fully his behavior during the nine or so mysterious hours between the accident and the senator's personal appearance at the police station.

New York Post:

There were moments when his words seemed wholly convincing and others when they appeared contrived. But what shadowed the recital more than anything he said or failed to say was the sense that such a statement should have been issued many days ago. It may be argued that the impact of the tragedy had rendered him incapable of so extensive and public a declaration until now. Yet the failure of those in charge of the inquiry to ask the most obvious questions and their acceptance of his fragmentary initial accounts as a satisfying story remains as inexcusable as it is injurious to the senator's position.

Detroit Free Press:

We cannot share the glee of Kennedy-haters who gloat over this misfortune . . . but the harsh realities of politics must cause the king-makers of both parties to take a new look at the future. The smart money—if there is such a thing three years in advance—has already gone to Sen. Muskie.

Buffalo Evening News:

Time may produce other events which ease the strong doubts that persist about his judgment and conduct under heavy stress. For the moment, we would find it quite difficult to consider him seriously in the future as a potential candidate for President. His faltering emotional response and judgment over a considerable period of time here leaves overwhelming questions about how he might respond to far graver crises, affecting the entire nation, in that office of constantly awesome public responsibility and personal strain.

Chattanooga News-Free Press:

The matter obviously is not closed and cannot be when there is such widespread curiosity about a prominent national figure and so many holes in the stories that have come out thus far, including Sen. Kennedy's account. The people of Massachusetts have indicated they harbor no serious desire to have the senator resign, and so that probably will be the end of his suggestion that he might. But the presidential picture is quite changed by it all. It is only factual to say that Sen. Kennedy had demonstrated no real presidential qualifications before the accident, and the tragedy certainly added none. It is probable that he has been removed from serious consideration, at least for the immediate future.

Providence Journal:

The only way in which Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts can get from the voters of his state the kind of verdict he seeks on his conduct on Martha's Vineyard is to resign his seat and seek re-election on a platform of simple vindication. Anything less than a formal submission of the issue to the electorate will be an exercise in emotional bathos. . . . The senator sought the advice and consent of his constituency; the surest way to determine that advice, and the readiness of the electorate to continue its consent to his holding office, is a special election as soon as possible.

New York Daily News:

The speech cleared up many of the mysteries surrounding Miss Kopechne's death. There was, however, one thing which he explained only lamely, so it seems to us; namely, why he spent the week following the tragedy in virtual seclusion. Teddy said public discussion by him before his court appearance would have been out of order. That, in our opinion, won't wash.

Greenville (S.C.) Piedmont:

Kennedy's panic is a sign of presidential unfitness . . . no autopsy was performed . . . is Kennedy and his family so feared or so loved or so far above laws for ordinary mortals that the girl's death is to be brushed off as an unfortunate happening?

New Haven Register:

It is impossible not to feel that fate has dealt harshly in this sudden trial imposed upon Sen. Kennedy. But it is also impossible to ignore the nature of the responses he and his friends made in a time of agonizing trouble. . . . We expect that Massachusetts will, out of loyalty and hope, keep Sen. Kennedy in office. Whether so strange and yet so studied an explanation will earn him confidence seems doubtful.

Columbus (Ohio) Citizen-Journal:

Sen. Kennedy's explanation has not, in our opinion, rolled away the clouds of doubt as to his qualities in hours of crisis. A man seriously considered for President is supposed to be at least a little bit different, especially considering he would, as President, have his finger on the nuclear trigger.

Hartford Courant:

It seems to us the senator failed to level on exactly what happened that night. We cannot see why the girl's body should have been left in the car under the water, especially after he had dived several times to save her, and then brought two friends from the "cook-out" to try to get to her. . . . It would seem to us that so long as the senator, a lawyer, has not seen fit to explain this night's events, that further investigation might be necessary.

Norfolk Pilot:

Kennedy . . . seemed to tell his constituents only what he wished to divulge. It was not enough.

Nashville Banner:

Sen. Kennedy's dramatic nationwide telecast not only failed to clarify the haunting questions which remain; it raised new doubts in the minds of many who are not inclined to accept emotional rhetoric as a substitute when only the truth will suffice. The answers he offered were cleverly contrived to produce a flow of sympathy for which a campaign organization already had been established to encourage. . . . State and local authorities in Edgartown and Massachusetts understandably are reluctant to press their inquiry any further. But if they are relaxed in the belief the whole affair is "over," they are mistaken. They have yet to live down the widespread criticism that their less-than-thorough investigation amounted to an effort to whitewash the incident because they either did not obtain, or failed to make known, all of the facts. The Kennedy statement . . . and the charades staged by duly consituted law enforcement agencies insult the intelligence of the American people.

Richmond (Va.) News Leader:

Sen. Kennedy's failure to clarify any of the strange developments before and after his automobile overturned in the water serves only to confirm the public's worst suspicions and to complete his indictment. . . . Sen. Kennedy's plea of guilt in leaving the scene of an accident, which plea suppressed further testimony, and his two-month suspended jail sentence cannot pacify public suspicion that his family's power and wealth weighed in the balance against justice. The American people—the national jury—is not so easily persuaded, as was the local police chief, that there was no negligence; that there was no need for a thorough investigation—no requirement for an autopsy. And those rationalizers who claim that "this could happen to any of us" beg the question. "Any of us" would have been charged with criminal negligence and manslaughter. . . . A presidential candidate's private and public conduct must be above reproach. And who, even among the staunchest Kennedy supporters, can deny that Chappaquiddick is anything but a scandal? . . . The dynastic claim to power that initially won the inexperienced and unqualified Ted Kennedy a Senate seat has become worthless outside the borders of Massachusetts.

Washington Star:

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, in effect, has taken his case to the people of Massachusetts. . . . The indications are that the response will be decisively in his favor. . . . Whether his emotional appeal will be similarly received in the country at large remains to be seen. For our part, we do not think the senator's televised broadcast . . . was an adequate explanation of the events surrounding and following the accident . . . and it certainly leaves several important questions unanswered. . . . All of this comes down, we suppose, to a question of whether one believes that the full story has been told and the essential questions adequately answered. For the believers, the senator has said enough. For those who do not share this belief, and we are among them, this tragic case is far from closed.

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No Viet Nam Victory in Sight

Why Nixon Should Abandon Kissinger's Plan

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

There has been much speculation about the Nixon aims and methods in Viet Nam. As with Lyndon Johnson, the people are getting no credible explanation of policy. Mystery is compounded of attempts to reconcile the President's past statements with the course of policy. They don't jibe.

After hearing his statements decrying the Johnson leadership in Viet Nam, the people assumed that Richard Nixon would move promptly to a resolution of the war as Dwight Eisenhower had done in Korea. These hopes have been disappointed. Nixon seems embarked on the Johnson policy, with minor variations.

President Nixon has been more forthright than his predecessor in public support of the Thieu government. At the same time, he has drawn from the Thieu government concessions to the National Liberation Front which the Johnson negotiators could hardly have won. Like Johnson, he has won nothing from Hanoi, so the war of attrition goes on.

The tracks of policy can be discerned in the past record, even through the carefully ambiguous language of a political campaign. The "why" of shifting policy is harder to find. We can only ascribe a probable cause to the action taken.

In his campaign for the presidency, Richard Nixon was supported by a military advisory committee which included able professionals like Adm. Arthur Radford and Gen. Nathan Twining, both former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Eisenhower. His early statements reflected the strength and realism of their counsel. In his acceptance speech at Miami, the Republican nominee said: "For four years this Administration has had the support of the loyal opposition for the objective of seeking an honorable end to the struggle.

"Never has so much military and economic and diplomatic power been used so ineffectively. And if, after all of this time and all of this sacrifice and all of this support, there is still no end in sight, then I say the time has come for the American people to turn to new leadership not tied to the mistakes and the policies of the past. That is what we offer to America."

After receiving the nomination at Miami in August, Richard Nixon reached out to broaden his base in the Republican party. He brought Rockefeller advisers into his campaign headquarters.

He also received a briefing from President Johnson which seemed to shake his self-confidence. We don't know what the briefers said, but they obviously scared Richard Nixon. They scared George Wallace, too. After the briefings both candidates markedly softened their criticism of Viet Nam policy. Richard Nixon declared a moratorium on Viet Nam policy criticism to avoid disturbing the Paris peace negotiations.

In a campaign interview candidate Nixon said: "In foreign policy, the first item we deal with must be Viet Nam. . . . I will not jeopardize the negotiations by indicating any of the various avenues I think should be explored or attempted to get the talks off dead center. . . . What is often overlooked is that in foreign policy we also must put at the top priority our relations with the Soviet Union." Had President Johnson scored?

Whether the official briefings paralyzed Richard Nixon as their substance had previously paralyzed Lyndon Johnson is an open question. It appears that they did. The result was a new direction for the Nixon foreign policy, essentially an acceptance of the basic premises of the Johnson policy. RN had embraced "the mistakes and the policies of the past."

The new policy direction was heralded after the election in the selection of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger to be the President's foreign policy adviser. Dr. Kissinger was closely attuned to the policies which had been crafted for President Johnson by McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk and Walt Rostow. He differed only in emphasis and technique.

Dr. Kissinger, a Harvard professor on leave to the political arena, had been foreign policy adviser to Nelson Rockefeller in the 1968 campaign. He had earlier served the Rockefeller international special study projects. He shared the liberal intellectual commitment to peace through law and reasoned dialogue with the Soviet Union. He seemed more realistic than some of his associates in his appraisal of Soviet

President Nixon's dramatic stop-off in Saigon and his subsequent exhortations to U.S. and Vietnamese troops does not alter the fact that over-all American strategy in the area has not produced the desired results.

Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger's Viet Nam strategy could well prolong the war, according to Gen. Lane.

purpose, but the difference was of detail, not of major premise.

The influence of Dr. Kissinger has been widely noted. He is the President's constant companion, even in meetings with no immediate security aspect. Secretaries Rogers and Laird see the President frequently, but Dr. Kissinger is the President's shadow, if not his mentor.

The new Nixon policy was foreshadowed in the January issue of *Foreign Affairs* in a Kissinger essay on "The Viet Nam Negotiations." This piece, like so much other commentary on the war, is a curious collection of sensible observation and naive misjudgment. It is important because it does foretell the course which the Administration has actually taken.

Dr. Kissinger wrote of the war in Viet Nam: "American military strategy followed the classic doctrine that victory depended on a combination of control of territory and attrition of the opponent." This is like Theodore Sorensen's invention of a quotation from American history to serve John F. Kennedy! There is no such classic military doctrine except in the minds of liberal intellectuals.

The classic military doctrine is that you protect people and territory by destroying the military forces of the opponent. When our liberal strategists were awed by Communist bluster into allowing sanctuary to the enemy forces, they invented the Kissinger statement to rationalize their breach of classic doctrine.

Dr. Kissinger wrote of guerrilla war: "No positive program can succeed unless the population feels safe from terror and reprisal." That is true. But nowhere in his thesis does Dr. Kissinger recognize the impossibility of providing that security to the people of South Viet Nam as long as the enemy is allowed to operate from a sanctuary across the border in Laos and Cambodia. He argues instead, and his thesis is demonstrably in error, that the essential protection can be provided by changing dispositions and tactics within South Viet Nam.

In tune with the Johnson apologists, Dr. Kissinger attributed delays at Paris to the fears and concerns of the participants rather than to the primary aims of the antagonists. He wrote: "The incompatibility of the American and North Vietnamese styles of diplomacy produced, for a long time, a massive breakdown of communication—especially in the preliminary phases of negotiation."

Although Dr. Kissinger knows very well that the Communists use negotiation as a war tactic, he seemed unaware that 1968 was an election year in which President Johnson desperately needed progress toward peace and Hanoi was holding him for maximum ransom on every comma.

The November bombing halt was negotiated, according to Dr. Kissinger, after some communication had been established and an understanding had been reached. He wrote: "But Hanoi can have little doubt that the bombing halt would not survive if it disregarded the points publicly stated by Secretary Rusk and President Johnson."

Hanoi soon showed its contempt for the American conditions. It attacked the cities of South Viet Nam and violated the demilitarized zone. It knew, if Dr. Kissinger did not, that it could violate the conditions of the bombing halt with impunity. The United States never denounces violated agreements. Witness the 1962 Geneva accord which excluded North Vietnamese military forces from Laos.

This sampling illustrates the Kissinger philosophy and method. In words spoken and unspoken, he clings to the liberal illusion that our differences with communism are negotiable. He searches for a tactic which will compensate for his misconception.

The real cause of our failures in Viet Nam lies in the three presidential restraints enumerated by Clark Clifford; viz. (1) No invasion of North Viet Nam; (2) No mining of Haiphong Harbor; and (3) No invasion of Laos and Cambodia. But Dr. Kissinger did not even mention these restraints as relevant to the problem. He tried instead to avoid the unavoidable consequences of these decisions.

The Kissinger plan is to have the United States and Hanoi negotiate mutual troop withdrawal while Saigon and the National Liberation Front negotiate political differences. He writes: "American forces should therefore be used (1) to bring about a staged withdrawal of external forces, North Vietnamese and American, (2) thereby to create a maximum incentive for the contending forces in South Viet Nam to work out a political agreement."

Dr. Kissinger seems to think that a negotiating arrangement can overcome such obstacles as Ho Chi Minh's determination to conquer South Viet Nam.

"But why should Hanoi accept such an approach?" he asks. "The answer is that partly it has no choice; it cannot bring about a withdrawal of American forces by its own efforts, particularly if the United States adopts a less impatient strategy—one better geared to protection of the population and sustainable with substantially reduced casualties." This is the ghost of Robert McNamara's promise that Hanoi would see the hopelessness of its ambitions and sue for peace.

Dr. Kissinger continued: "Hanoi may also believe that the NLF, being better organized and more determined, can win a political contest. (Of course, the prerequisite of a settlement is that both sides think they have a chance to win, or at least to avoid losing.) Above all, Hanoi may not wish to give the United States a permanent voice in

Continued on page 13

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Hardin Has Plans for Major Farm Policy Shift

By PAUL SCOTT

If Agricultural Secretary Clifford M. Hardin has his way, he'll make a dramatic change in American farm policy.

Under the new program Hardin is drafting for President Nixon to submit to Congress, the nation's agriculture policy would gradually swing from its current emphasis on annual diversion of land from crop production to long-term land retirement.

Instead of diverting a portion of a farm each year, as is now the policy, the government would rent entire farms for from 10 to 20 years to keep the acreage out of crop production.

The Hardin goals are (1) to bring the supply of food and fiber closer to demand; (2) cut down on farm surpluses; and (3) to try to cut the cost of the government's $7-billion-a-year farm program over the next five years.

In private discussions with Republican members of Congress Hardin talks of eventually taking 50 to 60 million acres of crop land out of production. This massive land retirement would be spaced over several years to give farming communities more time to adjust and turn to other production.

As Hardin sees it, costs could be further cut by having the government acquire only "easements" for some acreage. Under this new feature, farmers would retain title to the land and could use it for grazing of animals, but not for crop production.

Department of Agriculture cattle experts report that the new grazing facilities are needed immediately to step up the production of meat to help feed the nation's growing population.

Significantly, consumer officials in the Nixon Administration agree. They contend that cattle production must be stepped up drastically as part of a program to keep meat prices from soaring beyond the limits of the ability of the poor's pocketbook.

The question is, will Congress go along?

Members of the Senate and House Agriculture Committees are known to have some deep misgivings about making long-range cutbacks on crop acreages at a time President Nixon is warning of a mounting population crisis.

In actions conservatives hope will be an improvement over his predecessor's, Agriculture Secretary Hardin is determined to modify the land retirement program.

Instead of putting additional controls on American farm production, the legislators contend the President should be redoubling the government's effort to solve the food distribution problem in the U.S. to assure all Americans of an adequate supply of food.

Expansion of the food distribution industry, now one of the largest employers in the country, according to these lawmakers, would provide the jobs needed in an expanding population.

Several of the House committee members headed by Rep. W.R. Poage (D.-Tex.), chairman, want the U.S. to be made into the farm basket for the world. They are planning to ask the President to hold up his long-term land retirement program until a study of the nation's food needs can be made.

The Commission on Population Growth and American Future which the President proposed to Congress, they point out, could be used to make the food study.

In proposing the commission, the President told Congress that it should be given the responsibility for inquiry and recommendation as to "the resources in the public sector of the economy that will be required to deal with the anticipated growth in population."

While the President did not specify the need to determine the nation's future food production capability, the Poage group believes this information is vital for any meaningful study of how the U.S. should handle its population growth.

"If commission members are going to make the correct decision on whether the government should begin limiting this country's population," stated one Poage group, "they should know the capability of this country's farmers to produce food in 1985 as well as today."

For instance, the Poage group would like to see the commission study recent reports that discoveries about the earth through space flights will increase agriculture production in several areas of the world by 300 per cent in the next 10 years.

Development of new strains of wheat and rice also indicates that the world is entering a "green revolution" period where food production will outstrip population increases and will permit rise in the standard of living of billions.

Note: Agriculture Department officials are investigating a number of cases where persons, leasing land from the Army Engineers, are receiving payments for not raising crops on the land. One investigative report shows that several of the payments from the Agriculture Department amounted to double the cost of the lease.

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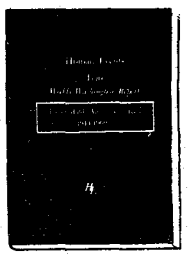

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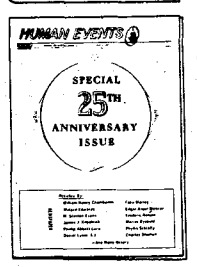

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One Prof's Exam

Freedom vs. License

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Thus a reproachful note from a retired pedagogue: "I rarely agree with your conservative outlook, but enjoy your pieces and regard you as an honest, if mistaken, opponent. So I was shocked to find you suggesting a physics teacher's political views might justify discharging him and thus deprive him of his livelihood in his chosen career.

"What price academic freedom if you have your way? I fail to see that it matters whether a professor is left, right or center politically. The only consideration should be his professional competency in his field."

In the abstract, I would agree. But let's look at the case of the physics prof at Chico State College, to which my critic refers. Here is the way the prof presented some questions in his year-end exam:

1. A helicopter is flying in a straight horizontal path, *Macing the people of Berkeley.* From the point of view of a ground observer, the speed of the chopper (as a whole) is 160 m.p.h. and the maximum speed of a point on the tip of the rotor is 300 m.p.h. If the radius of the rotor prop is 25 ft., how many revolutions per year will be observed?

2. A student absorbs, inelastically, 2 buckshot (not birdshot) traveling at a linear velocity of 1,800 ft. per second. Calculate the temperature rise of the buckshot, assuming the dead body doesn't conduct any heat away and neglecting losses due to radiation and convection.

3. Estimate the recoil velocity of the dead body if the student were struck in the stomach (approximately his center of mass), assuming he is standing on a frictionless plane.

4. This problem is optional for the ladies. A pool of student's blood ¼ inch in depth is absorbing the noonday's sun flux (for which the formula is given). Assuming no heat loss, how long will it take for the student's blood to boil? For the purposes of this problem, use the properties of water and 100 degrees F for the initial body temperature.

5. An Air Force plane is so loaded with pacifying napalm that its center of mass is positioned as indicated below. (Here follows a diagram.) What minimum-size steel could be used for these supports if the overload factor is 10?

6. A trainload of obsolete nerve gas traveling at a speed of 34 meters a second and a police car speeding after a suspected smoker are approaching each other (they will not collide, we hope!?). If the car's siren has a natural vibration rate of 500 vibrations a second, what frequency will be observed by a guard on the train?

And so on. Now, physics was never my forte, and I doubt I could have passed that exam no matter how hard I had boned up. I could never have calculated in problem 4, for example, how long it would take for a dead student's blood to boil, but I can report that my own blood boiled in nothing flat after reading that propaganda-loaded question.

Does my critic still maintain that the prof was within his right of academic freedom in so phrasing his questions? Or will he concede that a teacher who so abuses a trust has forfeited his right to tenure in a state-supported school?

Mind you, I stipulate in re the prof's competence in physics. And I grant him the right to his political opinions, whatever they are, outside the classroom. If he speaks under, say, the auspices of SANE, that's fine with me. But when he brings those opinions into a physics course and fills his students with SDS propaganda, he makes a mockery of academic freedom and I'm all for throwing the bum out.

I have just finished reading the amply documented report on Berkeley's "People's Park," prepared by Gov. Reagan's staff, and I suggest it is far more scientific than the physics prof's coloration of the news.

Indeed, it suggests some problems I'd like to present to the learned prof. Such as what was the average velocity of the bombs used in the eight major dynamitings of Berkeley so far this year? And at what speed does a knife have to be thrown from a rooftop in order to enter a cop's chest and penetrate into the bone, assuming, for the purposes of this problem, that the cop is not a pig but a human being doing his job—and doing it well?

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The Bones of Bill McKinley

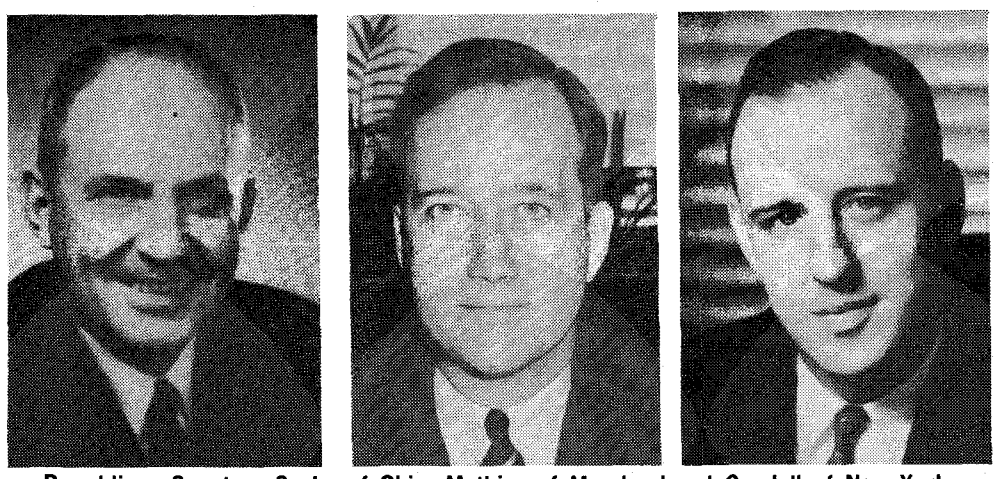
Three rookie 'Republicans' look at the future

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Three rookie Republican senators turned up at the Park-Sheraton here in Washington the other night for a panel discussion on the future of the Republican party. The spokesmen were Saxbe of Ohio, Mathias of Maryland, and Goodell of New York. This happened to be the night the All-Star game was rained out, in one of the heaviest rains since Genesis VII, but the rumbles outside weren't thunder. They were the bones of Bill McKinley rolling over in his grave.

Republicans? Holy smoke! Members of the audience who came in late must have thought they were listening to the executive committee of the ADA.

If these three gentlemen are Republicans, in any rational sense of the word, Martha Raye is Queen of the British Isles. And when they got around to diagnosing the future of the Republican party, they sounded like so many Congolese doctors, prescribing for Moise Tshombe.



Republican Senators Saxbe of Ohio, Mathias of Maryland and Goodell of New York have been acting in strangely un-Republican ways. Ironically, Saxbe and Goodell were considered conservatives before their elevation to the Senate.

This bad advice was more or less expected from Maryland's Charles "Mac" Mathias, who had a liberal reputation as a member of the House. But when New York's Charles Goodell was serving in the lower chamber, he was known as middle-of-the-road to right; he used to show up poorly in ratings of Americans for Democratic Action and the AFL-CIO. As for Ohio's William Saxbe, it was widely reported last fall, when he was running against John J. Gilligan, that he was relatively conservative; he turns out to be a poor relation indeed.

Goodell managed to leave the impression that he has small use for political labels anyhow, or at least for labels that mean anything. He didn't propose to be a "prisoner of past ideologies." When he got around to appraising Richard Nixon, he was as cool as a cook who sniffs at yesterday's fish. Maybe yes, maybe no. It depended on whether the President could understand the deep currents of our society, and plainly Goodell doubted that Nixon could. Anyhow, the future of the Republican party demands that the party "give way to the conscience of the heart." In other words, move toward the liberal left.

Mathias was altogether in agreement. In his view, the first responsibility of the Republican party is to overcome the estrangement of youth, first by ending the war and then by ending the draft, or maybe I have it vice versa. The great danger to the party, he said, lies in "the siren drawl of Dixie." A Southern strategy, which aims at developing a GOP coalition in Heartland America and along the Sunshine Belt, would be a "suicidal course."

Saxbe spoke mostly of welfare and the war. He said, or seemed to be saying, that the Republican party must respond tolerantly to a changing ethic on work. Instead of regarding the shiftless bum as a shiftless bum, the party must view the bum in a better light. The old days when it was assumed that a man should work hard, and try for advancement, to be somebody, are gone forever; new pressures are moving, and the GOP has to move with them. As for military preparedness, Saxbe had no use for the outmoded notion that "we have to arm ourselves and be prepared to fight." The thing to do is just sit down with the reasonable Russians and stop the unthinkable arms race.

There was much more. In the whole of the evening, not one of the three had a kind word for what used to be known as Republican principles: Hard money, hard work, balanced budgets, free enterprise, strong defense. Almost the entire emphasis of the three GOP thinkers was on finding new ways to out-Dem the Democrats in wooing the welfare vote.

If there is a truly suicidal course for the Republican party, it lies in that very direction. In a newly published book, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (Arlington House), Kevin Phillips makes an overpowering case in support of the "Southern strategy." Phillips was a top vote analyst for Nixon during the 1968 campaign. He's now an assistant to Atty. Gen. John Mitchell. His book is a solid, documented, convincing presentation of a winning image for the GOP.

The Heartland-Sun Belt thesis is emphatically not a racist approach. Its appeal is undeniably to conservative voters, but as Phillips says, when you're hunting ducks, the first rule is to go where the ducks are. One hopes that Messrs. Mathias, Goodell and Saxbe will not dismiss the thesis out of hand.

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CLIFFORD ALEXANDER, the Negro militant who was eased out as chairman of the Equal Opportunities Commission by President Nixon, has signed on as a partner in Abe Fortas' old law firm, Arnold & Porter. Sources close to the firm say Alexander's salary will be "in excess of $100,000."

Negative Income Tax Fails

Hawaii's 'Noble Experiment'

From the Richmond *News Leader*

The Office of Economic Opportunity for some time has been experimenting in pilot projects to see how income maintenance programs might work. Its latest grant, for $44,700, went to Nassau County, N.Y., to develop a plan for guaranteed employment, one proposal often made to provide income maintenance to the poor.

It may only be hoped that, somewhere along the line, the OEO has had enough presence of mind to study Hawaii's four-year-old program of a negative income tax, another income maintenance proposal.

Hawaii first adopted its highly technical negative income tax program as a means of providing poorer citizens some relief from the oppressive burden of a very high sales tax. The program, cheered as a "noble experiment," operates on a complicated sliding scale of tax credits based on the size of the family and its income. The tax credits ranged from $20 a year per person down to $1 per year per person. If no tax were owed, the tax credit could be obtained in cash.

The legislation passed was so broadly drawn that the state paid out more than a million dollars to persons who should not have been qualified. Among those were several thousands of low-income American servicemen stationed at military installations in Hawaii who received tax credits because the Hawaiian legislature had forgotten to exempt non-residents from the program.

Then came a bunch of applications for tax credits from a large number of persons with no income; they turned out to be nuns. Another batch of applications showed that a large number of persons had identical incomes—all were Peace Corps workers. The state legislature subsequently plugged the non-resident loophole, but the resident nuns still qualify for tax credits.

No one knows for certain, because records are very poor, but Hawaiian officials believe that some 300,000 Hawaiians are receiving around $1 million a year through the tax credit program. No figures are available on administrative costs; they are said to be "very high."

Thousands of low-income Hawaiians eligible for the tax credits do not receive them because they lack the records needed to prove their eligibility. Thousands of others, who should be ineligible, do receive the credits because their tax accountants have discovered loopholes.

Because welfare payments are regarded as confidential by the state, many persons can fail to claim the income from welfare payments on their tax returns and thus qualify for higher income tax credits.

The Hawaiian legislature in its most recent session considered various means of correcting the program's many deficiencies, but so little accurate information was available that no one fully knows what those deficiencies are. In the end, the legislature merely increased the amount of the credits on a new sliding scale ranging from $21 per person to $1 per person. The law was altered in no other way, so Hawaii's "noble experiment" will continue to serve as a prime example of how not to go about helping the poor through a negative income tax program.

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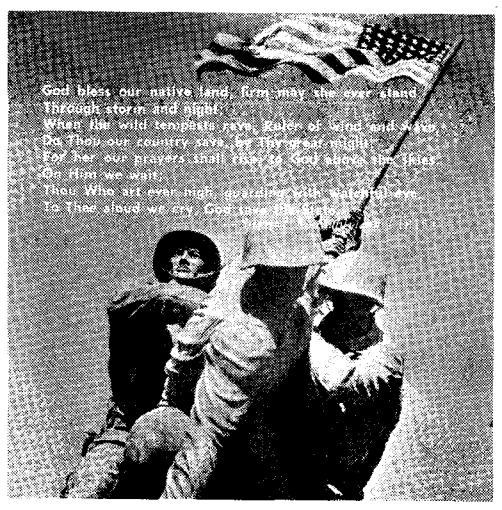

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British Doctors Warn U.S. About Nationalized Medicine

By DICK WEST in the Dallas *Morning News*

The attack continues unrelentingly on America's system of private medical care, which has weaknesses but is still the finest in the world.

In the last fiscal year, the federal government appropriated $17 billion for health purposes. Medicare and Medicaid are now costing nearly $4 billion a year more than expected.

But the enormous political pressures for more tax-supported health care continue. Where will it end?

Anthony Lejeune, brilliant newspaperman who writes a weekly "Report from London" on the Dallas *News* editorial page, gave this country a timely warning the other day.

He was viewing Britain's 21-year-old socialized medicine scheme—a system we are headed for, unless some compromise is made.

By all means, he wrote on July 5, "American doctors must not give in to political pressures."

The normal, everyday standards of the British system, he said, are second-rate—and, at worst, on the verge of sliding into complete squalor.

A factual report came across my desk not long ago on nationalized medical care in Britain. It is incredible.

If you must have an operation, the average waiting period is 24 weeks—six months.

Only five hospitals have been built in all of Britain the last 25 years; this is because the government has taken over all hospitals and does not have the money to build them.

Britain actually has 1,500 fewer hospital beds today than it had when the socialized medicine system began 21 years ago. Dallas County has built and enlarged more hospitals than all of England.

The British government reckons that doctors can care for 3,500 patients a year, which is impossible. For this, the government pays each doctor enrolled in the system $3 per patient per year.

The doctor is on call 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Each physician must arrange for and pay a deputy in his absence.

The average doctor's income is only $12,000 a year, out of which he must furnish consulting, waiting and dressing rooms; car, gasoline, telephone, stationery, nursing, secretarial and cleaning help—leaving $6,500 for his family expenses. A sheet metal worker, taking home $165 a week after 40 hours, is better off.

British medical schools graduate 2,000 new doctors a year, and 450 of them emigrate to America, Australia or Canada.

The red tape is intolerable. A patient must have a certificate to claim sickness benefit and be absent from work, and another certificate indicating he's well again.

If you have a broken arm, you must fill out government papers every week proving it is still broken.

Pregnant mothers have to fill out a form granting them permission to have their babies.

An American residing temporarily in Britain says British hospitals now admit a pregnant mother for her first baby. But subsequent children must be born in the home, with a midwife.

When Britain's socialized medicine system started in 1948, the cost was $363 million. In 1966 it had reached $28 billion.

When the system was originally conceived in Parliament, it was advertised as "free." But you can see that there is nothing "free" about something that costs nearly $30 billion a year.

The huge cost—the breakdown in service and quality—is typical of most government-operated ventures.

Everyone gets in on the act. Patients go to the doctor with a hangnail. They flood the hospitals whether they have to go or not. They want three sets of spectacles a year, vitamins, new dentures and tranquilizers.

The Lancet, publication of the British medical profession, compared socialized medicine with taxi service: "If taxi fares were abolished and a free National Taxi Service was financed by taxes, who would go by car or bus or walk? The shortage of taxis would be endemic and the taxi crisis a subject of periodic public agitation."

Britain's welfare program calls for each contributor to pay $2.50 a week for medical care, sickness benefit, unemployment compensation and old-age pensions.

Only a nickel of this is devoted to medical care. It is obvious that 5 cents a week by everybody in England cannot finance a medical-care system costing nearly $30 billion a year. So the government dips into its treasury, just as the United States government will have to do.

That means medical care will have to compete with highways, rivers and harbors, national defense and everything else in the national budget.

All of which explains why a "socialized" system is so poor. When the system covers everybody, regardless of need, and a limited amount of money is available, the result can be no medical care at all. A father with 10 children, on an income of $100 a week, can't spend very much on any of them.

Joan Hobson, wife of a British physician, described some of the conditions listed above in a report given widespread publication by American medical circles. She ought to know the conditions. [See *Human Events*, June 11, 1966.]

Recently it was revealed that 525,000 people were on waiting lists trying to get into British hospitals. And that 18,000 British doctors had threatened to resign, because an abnormal number are suffering premature heart attacks. They can do better, and live longer, driving a cab.

If there are fewer and fewer hospital beds, with more and more wanting them, and fewer doctors, with more demanding them, socialized medicine eventually will mean no medicine.

In the meantime, British doctors and journalist Lejeune point a finger at America and warn: "Careful, there. Don't do what we've done."

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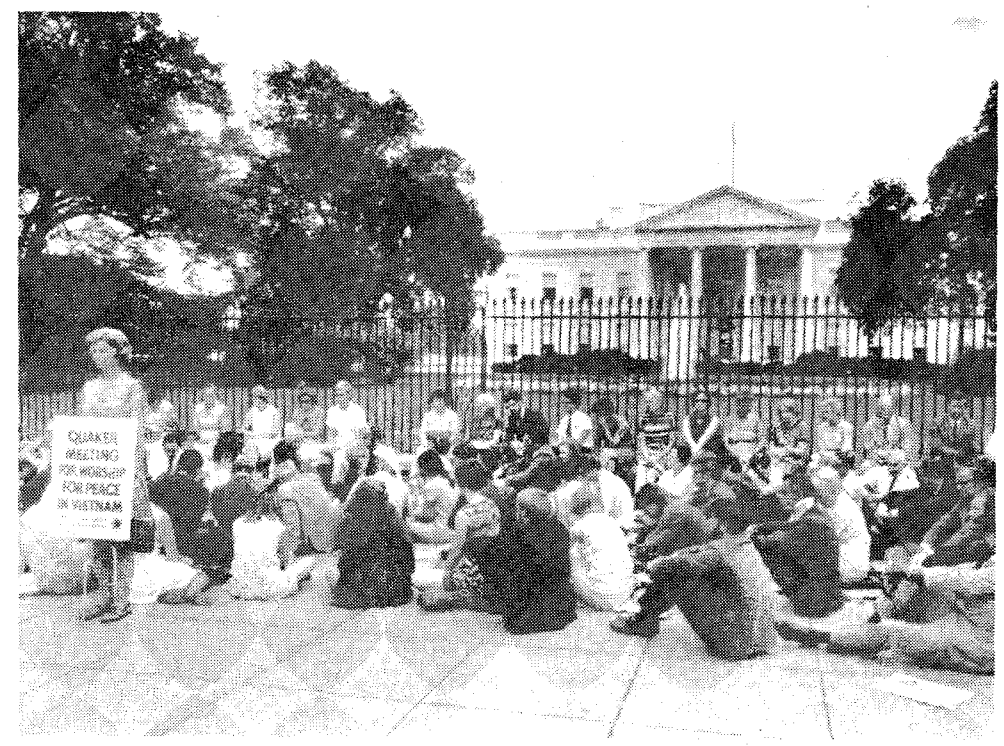
U BETCHA—"It turns out that U Thant's postcard to the moon never got aboard Apollo 11: There wasn't time to decontaminate it. In the case of a postcard from U Thant, decontamination takes an especially long time."

—From the Richmond *News Leader*



A delegation of Quakers sat in front of the White House recently and later a similar group protested at the Capitol, reading the names of Viet Nam war dead.

Protests Barred at Courts, But Not on Capitol Steps

By WILLARD EDWARDS

On the Capitol steps, protected by court decree, a band of anti-war demonstrators chant their grievances. Tourists gape, news and television cameramen gather, and publicity-hungry congressmen hurry to get in on the act. Police look on, helpless to interfere.

Across the plaza, on the same tract of land known as the Capitol grounds, the marble temple housing the Supreme Court of the United States remains in majestic peace. Uncouth behavior there results in immediate arrest.

Down Pennsylvania Avenue, opposite the White House, mass picketing may no longer be limited by government order to 100 persons in the street or 500 persons in Lafayette Square. The federal courts have enjoined the government from enforcement of any limitation, requiring only that 15 days' advance notice be given of planned demonstrations.

But if the White House pickets drift too close to the nearby United States Court of Claims facing the square they can be packed into a patrol wagon for a trip to the police station.

This grotesque situation is one of the problems expected eventually to reach Chief Justice Warren Burger when he takes over his Supreme Court duties in October.

Some government attorney, appealing the rulings which have permitted the conditions outlined here, is sure to point to the legend over the Supreme Court entrance: "Equal justice under law," and ask:

"Why should the areas surrounding federal courthouses remain as the only places 'off-limits' to the constitutional right of peaceful assembly?"

It will be a difficult question to answer, involving a delicate situation. The Supreme Court of 1950 is responsible for the law which brought it about.

It is rare for the high court to write a law for approval by Congress, but it drafted one 19 years ago after a period when crowds had demonstrated outside federal courthouses in New York City and elsewhere. This secret authorship was disclosed by Justice Tom Clark in a dissenting opinion in 1965.

Until this year, the same protection against disturbances had been enjoyed by the President and Congress as they perform their duties on the federal property set aside for them.

Then, in quick succession, came a series of landmark decisions. Chief Judge Harold Greene of the Court of General Sessions upheld the right of Quakers and others to oppose the Viet Nam war by assembling on the Capitol steps to read lists of war dead. The Court of Appeals held unconstitutional an ordinance against unauthorized parades on Capitol Hill. An injunction against limitation of White House demonstrations was next.

The key language in the Greene ruling reads:

"Under our constitutional system, no public official . . . can have the power to permit or prohibit assembly on property belonging to the people, based on his notions of what stand on public issues may be controversial."

The supposed sanctity of the Capitol stretches back to the early days of the Republic. The District of Columbia was established as the seat of government to protect it from mob violence and disturbances such as had taken place when the Congress met in Philadelphia.

Now, the executive and legislative branches have been stripped of legal protection against disorder. In ruling on the lower court decisions, there may be some slight embarrassment for the Supreme Court. By its own action, it and all federal courts alone remain immune to "the right of the people peaceably to assemble."

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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FOUNDATIONS FIGHT BACK—The nation's tax-free foundations have launched a major behind-the-scenes lobbying effort to kill off proposed congressional legislation that would tax part of their earnings. Much is at stake: A recent survey of just 647 foundations shows they have assets of nearly $18 billion. That is more than twice the amount held by the nation's 50 largest banks.

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Continued from Page 9

Kissinger's Plan Will Not Bring True Peace

South Vietnamese affairs, as it will if the two-sided approach is followed. It may be reinforced in this attitude by the belief that a prolonged negotiation about coalition government may end no more satisfactorily from Hanoi's point of view than did the Geneva negotiations over Viet Nam in 1954 and Laos in 1962."

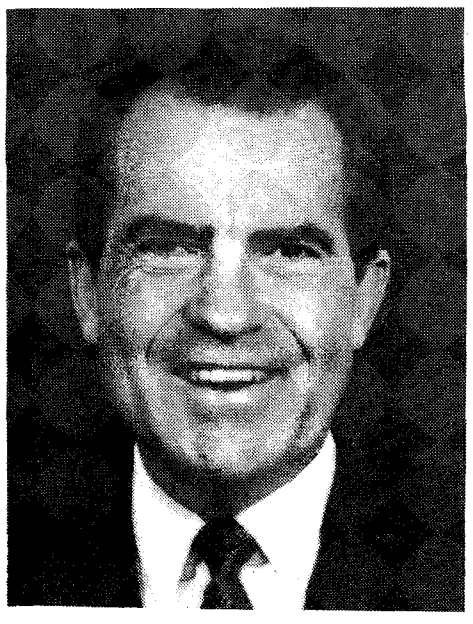
Dr. Kissinger thinks Hanoi was disappointed in those Geneva settlements. I'm sure it was not. Hanoi is not going to allow the United States any permanent voice at all in South Vietnamese affairs, regardless of the negotiating arrangement. He thinks we can negotiate an agreement which we believe will enable South Viet Nam to prevail and which Hanoi believes will enable the NLF to prevail. Futile hope! We might be foolish enough to try such a venture, but Hanoi is not going to settle until it is *certain* that the NLF will prevail.

What would we achieve? "As for the United States, if it brings about a removal of external forces and pressures, and if it gains a reasonable time for political consolidation, it will have done the maximum possible for an ally—short of permanent occupation." Nothing in the Kissinger proposals will achieve it. Hanoi is not going to negotiate itself out of the victory for which it has striven so long.

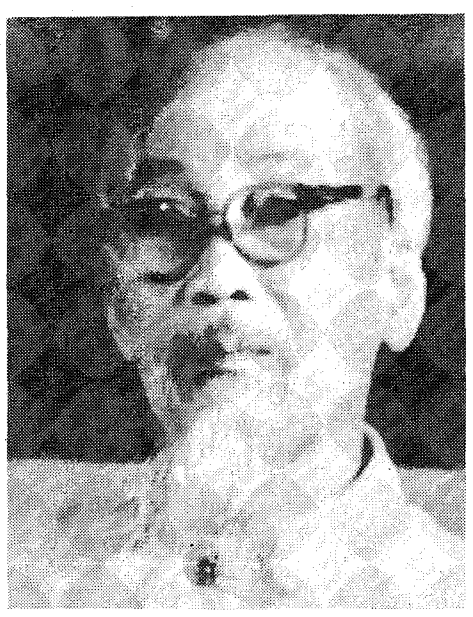
So what happens? "If Hanoi proves intransigent and the war goes on, we should seek to achieve as many of our objectives as possible unilaterally. We should adopt a strategy which reduces casualties and concentrates on protecting the population. We should continue to strengthen the Vietnamese Army to permit a gradual withdrawal of some American forces, and we should encourage Saigon to broaden its base so that it is stronger for the political contest with the Communists which sooner or later it must undertake."

How does this proposal differ from the Johnson response to intransigence? It is the prescription for a continuing war of attrition. Dr. Kissinger wishes to have a political contest in lieu of war. So did Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, but they got war.

Dr. Kissinger is firmly committed to an honorable settlement. He writes: "However we got into Viet Nam, whatever the judgment of our actions, ending the war honorably is essential for the peace of the world." But Dr. Kissinger has no plan which could conceivably achieve that goal.



If President Nixon follows the proper military advice in Viet Nam, he should have little trouble in facing re-election in 1972.



Ho Chi Minh has nothing to lose by playing a waiting game, despite the optimistic statements of many U.S. military leaders.

We can readily see in the record of recent months the Kissinger strategy in operation. The Saigon political base has been broadened. We are reducing our forces and building up the South Vietnamese Army. The President has renounced a military solution. The gambits have been made and rejected.

Time is on the side of the enemy. He knows that our casualties are hurting us, that President Nixon cannot long suffer the continuing attrition. He is confident that he can do to President Nixon in domestic politics what he did to President Johnson. The United States can bring home 2,000 men per month for 12 months to create a public impression of progress. But next year there will be an election. Nixon must end the war.

Dr. Kissinger is up against the wall. It is the same wall that stopped Bundy and Rusk and Rostow. It is in his own mind, in his misconceptions about war and peace. Such issues are not resolved by diplomatic maneuver: They are settled on the battlefield.

President Nixon, too, faces the wall. It is the wall which stopped President Johnson. Nixon has sought a course which would compromise the differences of the left and right. But the truth is not the mean of two errors.

The President is deterred by counsel that appeasement has gone too far to be changed. World and domestic pressures urge restraint. Some say the people would not support resort to decisive military action. That is the counsel of radical politics.

The truth is different. The free world awaits American leadership which will repel Communist aggression and restore peace to Southeast Asia. That action would serve peace throughout all the world. But for eight years, the world has waited in vain.

Now the need is more pressing. The rewards are more substantial. Success will be more resounding. If Richard Nixon rises to the opportunity which fate has offered him, he can repel the Viet Nam aggression and restore peace in Southeast Asia in 1969. He can win a Republican Congress in 1970 and be overwhelmingly re-elected in 1972. He can open a new era of peace in the world through prudent use of American economic and military power. Now is the winter of his trial.

"Now from the fig tree learn this parable. When its branch is now tender, and the leaves break forth, you know that summer is near." So also, when President Nixon sends Dr. Kissinger back to Harvard and turns to Adm. Radford and Gen. Twining for counsel about war, you will know that peace is near.

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NEW LEFT DEFECTS—"The students of the New Left seem gravely deficient in many of the qualities essential for forming sound judgments, in qualities which intensive study should develop. For instance, they seem strikingly devoid of humility and humor. . . . Insistent on free speech for themselves, they are unwilling to grant it to others, and like their prophets Herbert Marcuse and Karl Marx, they are intent on tearing down whatever displeases them, from college regulations to the American government and society, without giving anything but the vaguest idea of what they would put in its place."—Fred Foy, Board Chairman of the Koppers Co., in a commencement address at St. Francis College, Loretto, Pa.

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James I. McCord, *President, Princeton Theological Seminary:* "A solid foundation for a new movement in human thought."

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Has Been Issued Passport

Will Government Act If Robert Williams Returns?

By ROSS HERMANN in the Indianapolis *News*

The case of Robert Williams, long simmering on the back burner at the State and Justice Departments, is about to come to a boil.

A native-born American, Williams fled the country in 1961 to sidestep kidnaping charges in Monroe, N.C. He was subsequently charged with illegal flight to avoid prosecution. Now, eight years later, his announced intention to return to the United States brings the case close to a climax.

Williams is no ordinary fugitive. With the help of several Communist governments, he travels in style and his baggage contains a well-honed ideological axe.

Williams has spent the last eight years as a house guest of Chinese and Cuban Communists, enlisting their support for domestic revolution in the United States. With their aid, he has directed the activities of the militant Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), edited anti-American publications, and conducted radio propaganda broadcasts aimed at the United States.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has termed RAM a group "dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and its replacement by a Socialist system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism."

The House Internal Security Committee has documented RAM involvement in Cleveland's 1966 riots.

Williams' followers in the United States last year elected him "president" of the "Republic of New Africa," a separatist black nation which the group wants to carve out of several states of the Deep South.

Now, by his own choice, Williams' eight years of self-imposed exile are about to end. According to a dispatch from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where he currently resides, Williams told reporters recently he intends to return to the United States soon to clear up the charges against him and, in his words, take part in the "black power struggle."

Williams said he will enter the country "quite openly," but he did not indicate exactly when he would return, saying he might travel here by way of several African countries.

He told reporters he expects to be cleared, noting that others who were charged with him for kidnaping a Monroe, N.C., couple have since gone free. An alleged accomplice, Mae Mallory, was convicted and sentenced to 12 to 20 years but was later freed by the U.S. Supreme Court on a technicality.

How the government will deal with this case remains to be seen. The dispatch from Dar es Salaam, carried by the Muslim newspaper "Muhammad Speaks," reports, however, that the American Embassy there has issued Williams a U.S. passport "good for a single journey to the United States to face the charges against him."

The U.S. Passport Office declines to confirm or deny the report. A spokesman for the State Department, however, acknowledges that Williams has been issued a passport. It is valid, he said, "only for direct return to the United States."

Objections to admitting Williams to the country have been raised on Capitol Hill, but the State Department contends there is no legal basis for barring him.

In reply to Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.), a ranking member of the House Internal Security Committee, department official William B. Macomber Jr. said the department "has not been informed at this time that Mr. Williams has performed an act which would result in loss of his citizenship."

Roudebush, in turn, asked U.S. Atty. Gen. John Mitchell for an opinion on whether provisions of the U.S. immigration and nationality laws concerning loss of citizenship apply in the Williams case. In reply, the Justice Department said that provisions which might be relevant had been struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Roudebush comments: "Our internal security has just about been completely defanged by Supreme Court decisions, and there certainly is something wrong when an individual like Robert Williams can travel abroad such as he has done and then be allowed to return to the United States . . . ."

If and when Williams returns, he could face charges not only of kidnaping and illegal flight but also of passport law violations. According to Macomber, Williams did not possess a U.S. passport when he fled the country. Since then he has hopped between the Communist capitals of the world on passports of other countries.

In the course of the Viet Nam war, he visited the capital of North Viet Nam, where travel by Americans is prohibited by the State Department.

Macomber told Roudebush that "whether, upon return to this country, he will be subject to criminal prosecution is for the determination by the appropriate law-enforcement agency." It is not definitely known at this time how the government will respond if Williams enters the country.

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COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA plans to start a new commercial radio station, to be financed exclusively by selling advertising time. The station, to be named "Avala" after a mountain near Belgrade, the capital, will compete for listeners with state-sponsored radio stations.

Jensen's Controversial Article Brought Threats and Hate Mail

By MARCIA HAYES

Berkeley, Calif.:—"You're going to die, Jensen," said the gruff voice on the phone. "Get used to the idea."

The caller clicked off abruptly, and the grey-haired professor replaced his receiver with a sigh. Over the past three months phone calls like this have become part of the daily routine in the University of California office of educational psychologist Arthur Jensen. The Berkeley professor has been getting an average of two or three such calls every week, along with dozens of crank letters.

The reason: Two months ago Jensen wrote an article in the *Harvard Educational Review* suggesting that there may be inherited racial differences in intellectual ability.

Drawing on a two-year study done for the Stanford Research Institute, Jensen contended that the average Negro tests out 15 I.Q. points lower than the average white. He went on to suggest that the difference in intelligence is one of kind as well as degree—with blacks excelling at rote, or what he calls "associative" learning, while whites do better at tasks involving abstract reasoning ability.

The upshot of Jensen's statistical findings was that many black children are not being taught properly, and he concluded that federal programs of compensatory education have been a flop. Instead of being directed toward the specific learning patterns of Negroes, he claimed, they are geared toward middle-class whites.

The result, said Jensen, is that current programs of compensatory education turn black children off, retard their development and ultimately impair their productivity.

Jensen's article hit the academic community like a bombshell. Condemned by some of his colleagues and defended by others, the article has revived the old dispute over nature vs. nurture and raised a major ethical question: Should some subjects be off-limits for scientific research?

To this, Jensen replies:

"If your aim is to help people, then you can do more knowing the truth than you can not knowing it. So I believe thorough and accurate diagnosis of a problem, regardless of what the problem is, and then a search for ways to do something about it, is the most humane and beneficial for all concerned."

When the Jensen article was excerpted in the popular press, he became a target of hate mail and racist propaganda. Although the initial flurry of publicity has since died down, Jensen says his correspondence has increased steadily.

"I get close to 40 or 50 letters a day, and the number goes up every week," he says. "I get rather extreme letters —on the whole more favorable than unfavorable—but very few in between.

"Then there are the out-and-out 'kook' letters and calls, which are on the rise. I've been sent swastikas and crude notes that say 'Death'—things like that. I've learned to ignore them."

Until the People's Park issue distracted SDS attention, Jensen's office was picketed daily by the radical students organization. The society hired a sound truck to tour the campus one day several weeks ago, blaring "Fight Racist, Fight Jensen." And the SDS has also picketed the university regent's office with anti-Jensen placards calling for his resignation.

Several attempts have been made to invade his office and disrupt his classes, but Jensen has so far managed to avoid a face-to-face confrontation.

"They came to my class one day, but I'd been tipped off," he said. "I called all my students ahead of time and we met in a different place."

An articulate, gray-haired man who looks like a Midwestern high school principal, Jensen has sought rather than avoided public debate of his ideas. He has debated at campus meetings on several occasions, one of which was videotaped by a local TV station.

The response to his article has prompted him to keep a diary of his experiences, which he is now condensing into an article for a national magazine.

"I want to write an objective account of this whole thing," he says. "It is interesting from the point of view of sociology of science to see what can happen when you stick your neck out."

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

ABM Deterrent

By SEN. HIRAM FONG (R.-Hawaii)

An ABM deployment can contribute to deterring a strategic nuclear attack. It lends credibility to our nuclear deterrent forces.

The Cuban missile crisis was a vivid and real example where the strength and credibility of our strategic forces deterred war.

Why do you think the Soviet Union backed down in that nuclear confrontation?

Was it because President Kennedy used some persuasive and idealistic arguments? No.

What stopped the Russians was one basic factor—fear of, and respect for the military might of the United States. The Soviets knew we had the ability and the capability to call their hand.

Today, since the Soviet Union has approximate nuclear parity with the United States and in addition has deployed an ABM system for her defense, the absence of a comparable U.S. defense capability could very well impair the effectiveness of our strategic deterrent force.

Beyond their mission as a deterrent to nuclear attack, our strategic forces play a very important role in our over-all defense policy and posture. The capacity to deter lesser conflicts, or to limit conflict where it occurs, as in the Middle East, is significantly influenced by the balance of strategic forces. Consequently, this balance of nuclear terror tends to operate as a restraint upon conflicts at lower levels of intensity out of fear of unlimited escalation.

Unfortunately, this function of strategic forces has received little attention in the current ABM discussions.

Any weakening of our strategic capabilities would lessen our ability to control conflicts at lower levels of intensity and could also encourage the Soviet Union to pursue more adventurist policies, including the potential for "nuclear blackmail."

Spending Cutbacks

By REP. TOM KLEPPE (R.-N.D.)

President Nixon has re-emphasized his determination to reduce federal expenditures as a means of putting the brakes on inflation. He proposed earlier this year that total spending in fiscal year 1970 be cut $4 billion below the amount proposed by the previous Administration. Congress then set a ceiling of expenditures at $191.9 billion—$1 billion below the Nixon recommendation. This I fully support. Unfortunately, Congress is not following through on its own self-imposed economy goal. It has been slow in moving appropriations bills and some budget items are being increased, rather than decreased. At the same time, inflation is adding to the earlier projected costs of such large items as interest on the public debt, Medicare and public assistance. To offset rising costs and insure a budget surplus, the President has now ordered all federal departments and agencies to reduce FY 1970 spending by an additional $3.5 billion. This means that many popular and desirable programs will be cut back, stretched out or postponed. The number of federal employes will be further reduced. But if we are really serious about halting inflation and preserving the buying power of the dollar, spending must be cut.

Youth Job Proposal

By REP. BARRY GOLDWATER JR. (R.-Calif.)

I have urged Secretary of Labor George Shultz to carefully study Gov. Ronald Reagan's proposal to lift certain barriers to summer youth employment on a state and federal level. Recent Department of Labor statistics indicate 60 per cent of the 1.3 million persons seeking jobs in 1968 were teen-agers desiring employment during the summer or Christmas vacations.

Reagan's federal program would first provide for a $1.35 minimum wage for students while attending school. Secondly, it would relieve employers from having to pay unemployment tax on the earnings of students.

Lastly, the California governor's program would relieve both employers and minors from Social Security deductions. All three proposals would require congressional action before any program could be launched by private business to employ youth on a part-time basis.

Sometimes government seeks to help out the people by passing more laws, but I feel, as the employment problem points out, the time has come for repealing of laws and not the passage of more.

NLRB Practices

By REP. ALBERT WATSON (R.-S.C.)

As is so often the case with many federal agencies, the National Labor Relations Board has grown very fat at the expense of the American taxpayers, and it has become so mired in its own bureaucracy that any hope for self-imposed reform has long since vanished. Not only has the intent of Congress been systematically thwarted and the rights of management violated by the NLRB, but in recent years the board has become increasingly unfair to individual workers when their rights have been trampled upon by union bosses. In case study after study, the NLRB has demonstrated that in its obsession to accommodate national union leaders it will assist in coercing individual workers who dare to differ with the union overlords.

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DEFINITION—A tax reform is a measure designed to plug any small loophole through which the citizen may have been able to sight daylight.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The House Judiciary Committee paid scant attention to Administration proposals when it approved a bill (HR 4249) to **extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for five more years**, without amendment. Two Administration-backed amendments—to establish a nationwide ban on voter literacy tests and to do away with state residency requirements for presidential elections—were easily defeated. A Senate bill to extend the 1965 civil rights measure (S 2029), now before the Senate Judiciary Committee, is also expected to pass.

• One of the Nixon Administration's most controversial anti-crime measures has now been put into bill form (S 2600) and submitted to the Senate by Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.). This bill would allow any federal judge to detain in jail until trial a criminal suspect considered dangerous, the so-called "**preventive detention**" approach. Capitol conservatives are somewhat divided on the issue, some, such as Hruska, supporting it, others, such as Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), saying it "is unconstitutional and smacks of a police state rather than a democracy under law." Hearings on the measure are expected to begin shortly.

• Both the House and Senate foreign affairs committees have opened hearings on the **Administration's foreign aid request bill** (HR 11972, S 2347). The White House has asked for $2.6 billion in aid funds, $2.2 billion earmarked for economic assistance and $375 million for military programs. No floor action is expected in either house until after Congress' August recess.

• The House Agriculture Committee has opened a catch-all round of hearings on **proposed farm legislation** which will be expanded to include the Administration's proposals when they are finally drawn up, probably sometime in September. Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin says only that his staff is hard at work on farm legislation. The previous program, covering acreage allotments and price supports, was extended for only a year in 1968, on the theory that a new administration should have the opportunity to recommend a new program. Meanwhile, Agriculture Committee Chairman Rep. W. R. Poage (D.-Tex.) has introduced a bill (HR 12430) to make the present farm program permanent.

• In a mild rebuke to the Administration, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has reported out a **new East-West trade bill** which modifies somewhat the restrictions of the present Export Control Act. President Nixon had asked for a simple four-year extension of the present law. The committee's bill continues restrictions on exportation of goods contributing to another nation's military potential, but would eliminate current bans on trade of products helping a nation's economic potential. Also dropped from the export law was a stipulation that 50 per cent of all feed grains exported to the Soviet Union be shipped aboard U.S. flag vessels. Vigorous debate on this issue is assured.

• Two Administration spokesmen have told Senate liberal Democrats that their proposal (S 860) for creating a Cabinet-level **Department of Consumer Affairs** is "premature." Mrs. Virginia Knauer, the President's consumer affairs adviser, and Assistant Atty. Gen. Richard McLaren, while voicing concern for the plight of the consumer, told the Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization in separate testimony that consumers could be adequately protected without having another Cabinet department.

• After months of debate, hearings and conflicting "scientific" reports, the Administration's **Safeguard anti-ballistic missile program** is expected to be put to a Senate vote this week. At week's end the vote was still expected to be excruciatingly close, with ABM proponents given the edge. Two undecided senators—Democrats Warren Magnusen (Wash.) and Mike Gravel (Alaska)—could tip the balance the other way if they line up with the opposition.

• Despite the smashing success of the Apollo 11 moon landing, many congressmen remain skeptical over continuing to pour billions of dollars into the **future space program** envisioned by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. For fiscal year 1970 the Administration requested a NASA budget of $3.7 billion ($1.7 billion going to the Apollo program alone), but the House, heady with excitement over the Apollo mission, raised this to $3.9 billion. The Senate has yet to act on the budget request, but is expected to adhere closer to the Administration-proposed figure.

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